The Nation.

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The Week.

One of the most prominent men in the country, a leader in the cause of education, known and honored abroad, visited Washington the other day. He is a personal friend of Mr. Roosevelt, and the President consults him freely about matters in the section where he lives, attaching great value to his advice. Mr. Roosevelt likes to have a friend at dinner in an informal way, and so he naturally invited this gentleman to his table. Yet leading politicians throughout the South have been greatly excited over this incident, which some newspapers in that part of the country treat as of national importance. The Memphis *Commercial-Appeal*, for example, says that "President Roosevelt has committed a blunder that is worse than a crime"; the New Orleans *States* declares that his action "was little less than a studied insult to the South"; while the Memphis *Scimitar* pronounces it "the most damnable outrage which has ever been perpetrated by any citizen of the United States." The explanation of this extraordinary outbreak is the fact that the distinguished citizen whom the President of the United States invited to dinner was President Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee (Ala.) Institute—"a nigger," as the *Commercial-Appeal* calls him. Mr. Roosevelt has committed the crime of trying to establish "social equality," and this Memphis newspaper lays down the rule, which can be violated by any white man only at peril of his political life, that "race supremacy precludes social equality." The negro, according to this authority, is entitled to his rights under the law, "and the men who stand for white supremacy are the strongest advocates of granting him these rights; but beyond that they will not go." The reason is, that beyond lies the chasm which must never be crossed by any bridge of "social equality." If the President were seeking votes at the South, we should be obliged to join this critic in pronouncing his act of private hospitality a blunder. But as he was a man before he was a President, he has achieved the most honorable success of his life—and that not by way of demonstration or advertisement; nor, we will add, by way of carrying out the policy of his predecessor.

Secretary Long's navy estimates for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, should make plain to every one what an enormous price the country is to pay in its race to outstrip European nations in the number of ships. He asks for $98,910,984 for the maintenance and increase of the fleet during the next year—a sum but eleven millions less than that estimated as the cost of running the city government of New York city under Tammany rule throughout the next fiscal year. In other words, Congress is asked to vote for the navy more money than it would cost to supply another New York, economically and honestly administered, with all the municipal necessaries of the life of a large city—parks, water supply, clean streets, lighting, baths, schools, police, fire protection, etc. The fact that the new estimates are thirty-one millions higher than those for last year only demonstrates once more how the naval appetite always grows with feeding upon the public treasury. No Navy Department the world over has embarked on this policy and ever proclaimed itself satisfied. There are always more ships or more men required, unless the legislature, or the people, or national bankruptcy puts on the brakes. The time for the American people to say Enough has come.

In striking and pleasing contrast to these navy estimates are those of the War Department. Despite the increased regular army, the cost of reorganization, and the unceasing necessity for keeping 40,000 men on a war footing in the Philippines, Secretary Root asks for considerably less money than last year. Sixteen millions is the sum which he finds he can lop off from the amount he received last year, and still carry twenty millions for river and harbor improvements not properly chargeable to the military account. That this moderation is largely due to economies in administration, rigidly insisted upon by the Secretary, is another feather in that able official's cap. What makes the contrast between the $79,000,000 asked by the War Department for military purposes and the $98,910,000 called for by Secretary Long all the more striking is, that the army is still at war, while the navy, even with its blockading duty, cannot be said to be upon that footing. When one considers the enormous sum required for pensions, the total tribute which the United States will probably pay to the spirit of war during the next year must seem appalling, even to those familiar with the burdens of European militarism.

The pig-headed and obstinate refusal of certain "properly subject" peoples to know when they are conquered, continues to cause our Imperialistic friends in England and this country no little concern. There are those stupid Boers. Nearly two years ago it was officially declared by the English Government that all possibility of their reaching the sea in Cape Colony was at an end. On Thursday, after twenty-six months of hostilities, a bold band of raiders was able to cry "Thalatta, Thalatta" from hills within fifty miles of Cape Town! Among our own involuntary subjects in the Philippines there continues to be the same stubborn refusal to recognize the desirability of the benefits of Anglo-Saxon civilization when supplied by force. In Samar on Thursday another detachment of the Ninth Infantry narrowly escaped such a massacre as was the fate of Company C of that regiment two weeks ago, getting off with a loss of ten killed and six wounded out of forty-six men. It is not surprising that it is announced that there will be no further withdrawals of troops. Gen. Corbin was sure that we should need only 24,000 men in the islands. Gen. Chaffee, however, insists by cable that he must have more than 40,000 men, and that a reduction in this force might mean a widespread recrudescence of the war.

Bad news multiplies from Samar. A conspiracy has been discovered to slaughter another body of troops. The leader of the conspiracy was the Presidente appointed by the Taft Commission—a fresh illustration of the hollowness of the peace that Senator Foraker tells us has at last descended upon the archipelago. So far is this from the truth, that every soldier within reach has been sent to Samar, and, after all other available forces have been exhausted, 356 marines have been sent in hot haste to the island. The *Army and Navy Journal* of October 5 publishes a detailed statement of the forces dispatched to Samar from time to time. The original detail for this service consisted of the entire First Infantry, the Second Battalion of the Ninth, and two squadrons of cavalry. There are now at least four full regiments in the island, and the trouble is increasing all the time. Not only is the local trouble increasing, but the news of disaster to the Americans in Samar "spreads like wildfire among the natives, who scarcely attempt to conceal their delight." In other words, the pacification which the Taft Commission has reported is not even skin deep. Consequently we are in for fresh slaughter in behalf of our bill of sale from Spain and of our insufferable cant about a benevolent war of civilization. In our profit and loss account, since the treaty of peace with Spain, will anybody write down what we have to show for the American blood and the American money poured out in those Asiatic islands? Will Senator Foraker or anybody else undertake to say how much more of both we shall expend before we convince the Filipinos that we are trying

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to give them as much liberty as they are capable of enjoying and rightfully using? And is this kind of a war the world mission of America at the beginning of the twentieth century?

The movement, initiated some time ago, for a national convention of manufacturers to discuss the subject of reciprocity, has now taken concrete form. It will be held in Washington on November 19, and will probably last three days. The plan originated in a suggestion offered last June at the annual meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers, and has been elaborated by the Executive Committee of that body. The Committee, in the call it has recently issued, outlines the work of the proposed meeting as being "to discuss the expediency and practicability of the broader applications of the principles of commercial reciprocity, as a means of expanding foreign markets for American products without sacrificing the interests of any of our industries." The call has been freely distributed to business organizations, but none except men actually engaged in manufacturing enterprise will be recognized as delegates to the convention. With a body really representative of producers from all parts of the country, it may fairly be hoped that some clearer notion of the best lines to be pursued in tariff reform may be obtained. The advantages gained by protected industries in one part of the country are offset by the corresponding disadvantages entailed upon those situated elsewhere. It would probably be too much to expect the convention to be absolutely harmonious, or perhaps to adopt recommendations of much importance. But it cannot fail to give much needed insight into the real feeling of our manufacturers on the subject of reciprocity.

The Chicago *Tribune* has interrogated a large number of editors personally on the question of ship subsidies, and has received eighteen answers in writing, which it publishes. Twelve of them are opposed to subsidies altogether, four are in favor of some kind of subsidy, and two are neutral. The most marked feature of the replies is the vigorous expression of opinion against any form of subsidy. The editor of the Elgin (Ill.) *News* maintains that no measure should be passed by Congress taxing the many for the benefit of the few. The editor of the Madison (Wis.) *Journal* says that "to grant millions to great steamship lines or as free gifts to individuals will only add to the flame of social and political unrest." The Janesville (Wis.) *Gazette* points to Mr. J. P. Morgan's acquisition of the Leyland Line and says that that is the way to build up a merchant marine. "If there is any money in a merchant marine, there is enough idle capital in this country to build and equip a fleet that would be unrivalled. If there is no profit in the enterprise there is no reason why the people's money should be so invested." The editor of the Portland *Oregonian* says that all the shipyards on the Pacific Coast are crowded with work, and that they are more than a year behind with their orders. No bounty or subsidy could get any more work out of them than they are now doing. The Centralia (Ill.) *Sentinel* holds that the Ship Subsidy Bill involves not only many millions of dollars, but a principle which is "hardly compatible with a republican form of government." The Toledo *Blade* says: "Kill all subsidy bills." All the foregoing newspapers are Republican in politics. The Milwaukee *Wisconsin*, the Muscatine (Ia.) *Journal*, and the Galesburg *Republican* favor a subsidy in some form. The Chicago *Tribune* itself is opposed to any subsidy. Its investigation proves that the Hanna-Payne bill is more unpopular in the West now than it was during the last Congress.

The *Tribune* has a telegram from Washington purporting to give the points of the new Isthmian Canal treaty. According to this version, the features in which it differs from the treaty of last year are that the United States guarantees the neutrality of the canal, and is the sole guarantor, and that the United States reserves the right to fortify the canal. The latter clause was not in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty as amended by the Senate. If it has been inserted in the new treaty, it is rather incongruous with the principle of neutrality; but of course we are not obliged to spend our money in fortifying a neutral canal, and, of course, our fortification of it will not give us any advantages over other nations in the use of it, either in peace or in war. If we were at war, we might prevent any other Power from passing through it, but any other Power that was stronger than ourselves on the water could prevent us from entering it. The main thing to know, however, is that the treaty will be ratified by the Senate with little, if any, opposition. It does not follow that the Nicaragua route will be adopted. The Panama Canal is still very much alive, and its President is in Washington now for the purpose, it is presumed, of offering it to our Government. The offer, if made, will reach the public through the report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, of which Admiral Walker is the President.

The text of Judge Morris's opinion, in which he sustains the decision of the Board of General Appraisers in the Russian sugar-bounty case, will increase the interest already felt in this important suit. Judge Morris's decision, it now turns out, was purely formal. He reviews the Russian system, by which the amount of sugar produced for home consumption is practically limited, and shows that, although the amount involved in this particular case is very small, the result will be of far-reaching importance. In view of the certainty of appeal, the decision of the lower court is of only momentary weight, and the Judge, therefore, believes that in rendering his opinion he should cause as little delay as may be. Recognizing that the question is a close one, Judge Morris prefers not to take the time necessary for such a technical study of the facts as alone would warrant him in reversing the carefully considered ruling of the majority of the Board of Appraisers, notwithstanding that he inclines to agree with the minority report of that body. An appeal to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals has been filed, and the case is likely to be heard at the November term in Richmond, Va.

There has been considerable fear lest the changed conditions in Washington should lead to the retirement from public life of one of our greatest patriots and statesmen, the Hon. Mark Hanna. The loss of this high-minded politician and leader would, we all know, cause consternation in more quarters than one—in none more so than in those shipping circles which have organized to obtain Government money for an industry that cannot fill the orders already booked. All apprehensions were set at rest, however, when Senator Hanna made the following statement in the course of his speech at Delaware, O., on Saturday: "Let no yellow journalism or blatant demagogues shake your faith in the conditions of this country to-day, as affecting those who have the responsibility. *I* am not going to retire from politics or public duty. *I* have no intention of resigning my chairmanship of the National Committee. *I* am going to stay there and see Nash and Foraker and others through, if it takes ten years." Nothing has so reassured and quieted the country as will this touching announcement of Mr. Hanna's self-sacrificing devotion to duty. Anxious patriots may now rest in peace.

Bourke Cockran is one of the men who have found it hard to make up their minds what to do. He now announces that Mr. Shepard's speech at Tammany Hall, the other evening, settled the matter in favor of the Tammany candidate. Mr. Cockran argues that Mr. Shepard's courage in reasserting his condemnation of Tammany rule in the very presence of the boss foreshadows "an administrative atmosphere where no boss could survive for a month," while Mr. Low's failure to reaffirm in 1901 his denunciation of the Republican organization and its boss in 1897 "shows that he

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has abased himself to become the instrument of the Republican machine." This is ingenious, but it is not ingenuous. Mr. Low is not called upon to denounce the Republican organization when it has reversed its position and come upon his non-partisan platform; while the idea that any man in the Mayor's office could free this city from Tammany rule while Tammany should control the District Attorneyship, the Comptrollership, the Presidents of the Board of Aldermen and of the boroughs, as well as the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, is simply absurd.

There has been no more refreshing development since the beginning of the campaign than the action of Mr. Grout and of Judge Jerome in naming names in their Saturday night speeches against Tammany. If there is one thing that is needed to win this fight, it is the pointing out of the rascals responsible for New York's degradation with an unmistakable "Thou art the man." It is all the more necessary because the Van Wycks, Sullivans, Carrolls, and Crokers are hiding behind Shepard's respectability in the hope that the discussion as to his actions may veil their own misdeeds. It will not suffice to say, as Mr. Jerome did, that the single issue in this fight is "Thou shalt not steal," unless the responsibility for the wrong-doing is fixed in the public eye. It should be made clear, too, by the most unmistakable language, just who is to be adjudged guilty for the shocking conditions which permit of an organized system for the ruining of young girls upon the East and West Sides. These are the subjects to which the hearts of the people will respond. Courage and fearlessness in attacking them will find a prompt echo in every tenement in the city in which there are honorable men and women. Justice Jerome and Mr. Grout are to be congratulated on having begun the work of branding the Tammany leaders who profit by gambling. "I say," declared Mr. Jerome, "that Mr. Croker is over the whole thing, but I name those five men together—Carroll, Sexton, Devery, Frank Farrell, the head of the gambling combine, and Van Wyck."

One of the "Ripper" bills passed by the "gang" in Pennsylvania has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The word ripper is applied to any measure passed by the Legislature for the purpose of ousting local officers elected by the people for a definite time, when the gang cannot wait for the legal expiration of their terms. In such cases they "rip" the law and the institutions of the State as a butcher sticks a pig. They ripped the cities of Pittsburgh and Scranton in this way successfully in the persons of their chief magistrates, and they attempted to rip Philadelphia in the persons of its principal tax officers. The object which the gang had in view was not only to get possession of the patronage of the Board of Tax Revision, consisting of fifty-four assessors and a large clerical force, but also (as the *Ledger* thinks) "to increase taxation to meet the vast increase of the city's current obligations growing out of bad government, not by frankly raising the tax rate, but by the indirect and less noticeable method of increasing valuations, with shrewd discriminations in favor of machine followers." In other words, they intended to "make it hot" for the reformers by increasing their taxes. At all events, they would have the power to do so, and they could hold this power over the heads of their opponents *in terrorem*. The Supreme Court pronounces this in conflict with the clause of the State Constitution which prohibits special legislation regarding the affairs of counties. The rippers thought to circumvent this clause by making their law applicable to all counties which are now coextensive with cities of the first class. There is only one such county now. There may be others hereafter, but the ripper law will not apply to them, because they are not now in that class. Hence, it is special legislation, both actually and technically. This looks like a very narrow escape, but it gives the people of Philadelphia one more chance to redeem themselves from the rippers.

To a distant observer, the Triennial Convention of the Episcopal Church in San Francisco would seem to have simply failed to enact the chief measures of legislation laid before it. The new canons on marriage and divorce passed the House of Bishops, but were defeated, on the vote by dioceses, in the House of Deputies. Dr. Huntington's proposal to introduce a certain amount of liberty and flexibility in the use of the Prayer Book was likewise rejected, though by only the narrowest majority. As for the other burning question, the change of the official title of the Church, by dropping the words "Protestant Episcopal," that was merely referred to a committee to report three years hence. But we know, of course, that there were many important matters before the Convention relating to the internal life and to the general usefulness of the Church, which did not bulk largely in the newspaper accounts, but which were of deep interest to the delegates and their constituent churches. Great reforms or innovations are as hard to effect in an ecclesiastical convention as in Congress; but the routine work of either is as indispensable as it is humdrum.

The French budget for 1902 makes a better showing than had been expected, the deficit amounting to only $10,000,000. In view of the late decline in the revenues and the general unproductiveness of taxes during the past year, an even greater deficiency might well have been looked for. Of the probable shortage of $10,000,000, at least $4,000,000 represents the amounts paid as sugar bounties. Even under the most favorable showing, the financial estimates for the coming year must prove disheartening to those who have been promoting the plan for old-age pensions and the numerous other schemes for extending the functions of the state. Besides this, much disappointment will be caused by the economies already made in order to bring the estimates to their present figure. The outlays for new battle-ships have been cut off, and the estimates have been curtailed in every respect possible, yet it is quite to be expected that the supplementary budget, when introduced as usual, will very much enlarge the deficit. The adoption of a plan for giving the state control of the petroleum industry may furnish some relief, if experience with the tobacco monopoly may be taken as a guide.

The Austrian budget, submitted on Thursday to the lower house of the Reichsrath, makes a very favorable showing in its estimates for the coming year, receipts and expenditures being substantially identical. Notwithstanding the bad commercial conditions, the Finance Minister anticipated that the budget of the year would turn out even better than was foreshadowed by the estimates. The debate on the German tariff question was extremely significant, for it was pointed out that, should a tariff war be necessitated, Austria is now in better condition than Germany to bear the consequences. Moreover, the preservation of harmony with Hungary was regarded as being of primary importance. Inasmuch as the high duties levied by the new German bill on food products will effectually cut off a large market for Hungarian cereals, which have hitherto been extensively imported into Germany, this utterance has great significance. It indicates that the threats of tariff retaliation by Austria are based upon fact, and point to the conclusion that the Austro-German political alliance might be endangered by an economic war. The really important feature of the situation is revealed by the dispatches from Berlin, which point out what the German press has avoided speaking of—the inability of that country in its present weak condition to face any such contest. True, the Government is now fully committed to the new bill, but its future course may yet be influenced by a determined attitude like that which Austria seems to have adopted. This gives good ground for hope that the bill may finally be retired, or so altered as to render it harmless.

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SECRETARY GAGE AT MILWAUKEE.

The Secretary of the Treasury seized the opportunity afforded by his address to the American Bankers' Association at Milwaukee to propose some radical reforms in Government finance. These are not altogether new suggestions, but they derive great importance from Mr. Gage's official and personal standing. The first in the series, as they were presented by the speaker, proposes that the legal-tender notes of the Government be put in the way of retirement and cancellation. All, or nearly all, writers who can be classed as economists and who have dealt with this question since these notes were first issued, have concurred in the opinion that they are a source of danger, and should be got rid of as soon as possible. The reason why they should be retired is that they are "fiat money"; that they derive their value from the promise of the Government to redeem them in gold on demand; that it depends upon votes in Congress and in popular elections, from time to time, to decide whether they shall be redeemed or not, and whether the amount in existence shall be greater or less at any particular time.

Few persons can now recall the shifting moods of the public temper, or remember the intense anxiety which has prevailed at certain crises in our history, in reference to this subject. The legal-tender notes were issued, with great reluctance, for war purposes nearly forty years ago, and with the declared purpose on the part of the issuers of redeeming and retiring them as soon as the war should be ended. In order to insure their retirement, they were made convertible into 6 per cent. bonds, which was indeed a wise provision. The shifting policy of the Government was first exhibited by a repeal of this safeguard against redundancy. As soon as the war was ended, however, Congress voted (in December, 1865) to resume specie payments at an early day. On this the vote was nearly unanimous. To carry out this intention a law was passed in April, 1866, for retiring and cancelling the legal-tender notes at the rate of $4,000,000 per month. In February, 1868, Congress repealed the act, $44,000,000 of the notes having been retired meanwhile. In 1873 the Treasury Department reissued $26,000,000 of the retired notes, without authority of law. In 1874 Congress passed a bill to reissue the entire $44,000,000, but President Grant vetoed it, and it was not passed over the veto.

In 1875 Congress passed an act to provide for the resumption of specie payment on the 1st of January, 1879. In 1877 the House passed a bill to repeal the Specie-Resumption Act, and this was defeated in the Senate by one vote only. Both houses passed a bill providing that the legal-tender notes should not be retired when redeemed, but should be paid out and kept in circulation. The amount of notes then outstanding was about $346,000,000. Specie resumption took place January 1, 1879. In 1890 Congress passed the so-called Sherman Act, providing for a new emission of legal-tender notes of indefinite amount, to pay for silver bullion to be stored in the Treasury. The new issues of notes were followed by the exportation of gold to nearly the same amount and by the panic of 1893. During the next three years the Government was obliged to issue interest-bearing bonds to the amount of $262,315,400, in order to redeem its legal-tender notes.

The foregoing recital of facts comparatively recent indicates that there will always be uncertainty in respect of the redemption of Government paper and of the amount issued. Such uncertainty attaches to the notes now outstanding, since it depends upon the political majority to decide what amount shall be issued and whether redemption shall continue or not. For this reason the notes should be redeemed with the surplus revenue of the Government and cancelled as soon as possible. Secretary Gage says truly that the present is the most propitious hour in all our history, and as favorable as any we may hope for in the future, to carry out this and other desirable reforms in our financial system. All that is needed is for Congress to re-enact the law of 1866, which authorized the Secretary to retire and cancel the notes at the rate of $4,000,000 per month, or at some rate corresponding to the surplus revenue. The time has long passed when anybody could call a measure of this kind "contraction of the currency."

The other recommendations of the Secretary look to the detachment of the Treasury from all connection with banking and currency, except as to the supervision of national banks, which the present law provides for. He would have the surplus revenue of the Government deposited in national banks, under a definite legalized plan, not the haphazard system now prevailing. He would have the banknote system so modified as to make it elastic and responsive to the needs of the business community, without any increase of risk to the noteholder, and he would have the Government's responsibility for the redemption of banknotes withdrawn. The details of these changes were not indicated, but it is probable that they will be outlined in his coming annual report.

The Bankers' Convention at Milwaukee has undoubtedly had a most wholesome influence. This is the first time since the civil war when a recommendation from a Secretary of the Treasury for a retirement of the Government's legal-tender notes finds public opinion sufficiently calm to give it the unprejudiced attention that it deserves.

UNITY IN BANKING.

The address of Mr. A. B. Stickney before the American Bankers' Association was a plea for the centralization of banking control, and for economy in bank administration. The speaker specifically mentioned a number of reforms to be instituted, but the measure upon which he laid most stress, and which formed the core of his recommendations, was the abolition of the sub-treasury system, and the substitution for it of a strong central institution, which should hold the money of the Government and the reserves of the banks of the country. Mr. Stickney's address is notable not merely for the force with which its recommendations are presented, but also because its main suggestion is now being urged from many quarters. The idea of a central bank, buried for so long under the opprobrium it incurred before the creation of the National system, is in process of rehabilitation, and is making a strong appeal to practical men, as well as to theorists. It has lately been advocated by Mr. Muhleman and many others.

In considering a proposal so radical as that of Mr. Stickney, it is fair to inquire carefully into both its theoretical merits and its practical feasibility. It is not to be denied that, from a purely abstract standpoint, the notion of a central bank is alluring, and the justice of most of Mr. Stickney's arguments in its behalf may at once be admitted. It is easy to conceive of a large and well-managed institution which should exercise general oversight and control over other banks, economizing the gold needed for legitimate reserve requirements, issuing or supervising a sound note-currency, and wholly overcoming the recurrent difficulty of a Treasury surplus, by making Government balances available in business. How great a strength to the Government such a bank might be in time of emergency, may be seen from the history of our two early United States banks, and may be equally well inferred from the painful lack of such a support during the civil war. Moreover, the abstract neatness of such an inclusive plan is not the only thing to recommend it. There is much sound argument to be adduced in its favor from analogy and from the experience of foreign countries. The United States is the only country which has a distinct Treasury, with all its attendant evils. The finances of practically all others are handled with efficiency and honesty by one central bank in each.

While the concept of a central Federal bank possesses this attractive element of completeness, there is a good deal that is not so obvious to be said against it. Our experience with the earlier United States Bank has shown some of the dangers likely to be encountered by such institutions. It is true that too much should not be made of the events

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of a cruder period of our development. The defects displayed by a National bank in 1835 are no earnest that these troubles would reappear in an institution of the same sort seventy years later, any more than the unsoundness of the early bank currency secured by State bonds casts a doubt upon the notes of the National banking system to-day. Yet the experience of our Government in conducting other lines of work would indicate the hazard of intrusting it with the conduct of a bank of issue. And merely to make it a sleeping partner in an institution managed by private individuals does not seem to be a course warranted by the methods employed in some of the large banks of the present.

Apart from problems of management and technique, there are also more serious objections to Mr. Stickney's general argument. He comes before a convention of bankers with a plan intended to remedy the Treasury difficulties, and at the same time to solve the problem of inelastic currency and high interest rates in remote places. Nothing can be gained, however, by confusing these two different phases of the currency and banking question. The Treasury surplus involves a range of problems that are entirely its own. The argument for a strong central bank must rest largely upon considerations of Government finance and Treasury management. It is hard to see why such an institution should be better able to furnish a credit currency and equalize interest rates than would the present National banks, provided they were freed from the prohibitions upon branch banking and free note issue. Mr. Stickney, moreover, seems to claim too much for his plan. In maintaining that the establishment of a central Federal bank would largely overcome the danger of commercial crises, he disregards the plain teaching of history. The argument that the action of National banks in pooling reserves and issuing Clearing-house certificates in times of stringency shows what could be done constantly by a system of centralization of reserves, disregards an important principle. The late Professor Dunbar pointed this out with his usual incisiveness when he said that "what is effective by way of relief is not necessarily salutary as a regular system. The relief in this case comes from the fact that, under the arrangement for combined reserves, every bank is completely discharged from any real sense of responsibility for cautious action . . . Under ordinary circumstances it is not by any diminished sense of responsibility that the way to sound banking and to the ultimate good of the community is to be found."

When all has been said and done, the difficulty remains that a central Federal bank is practically and politically impossible. The adoption of such a plan, even though ideally perfect in theory, could hardly be expected by any but a thorough Utopian. Its introduction in Congress would be the signal for an unparalleled outburst of Populistic wrath. It would be hailed as the organization of a "Money Trust," and no amount of sober argument could demonstrate its advantages. Nor would the opposition be wholly of this frenzied character. It hardly needs to be said that the plan would meet with bitter opposition from both National and State banks, and its defeat would be assured. For support it could count only on a certain number of theorists and students. Currency reformers must for a long time to come make up their minds to be content with half a loaf. They must keep Treasury and banking problems separate, so far as possible. The crying need of the country at this moment is a credit currency, and this can be obtained in the near future if its advocates will unite in demanding the repeal of the bond deposit security for national banknotes and of the prohibition of branch banking. The larger matters of banking organization and care of Government funds will then be in much better condition for treatment than now.

MR. SHEPARD IN TAMMANY HALL.

Mr. Shepard's speech in Tammany Hall on Thursday evening was one of extraordinary quality. No candid reader can fail to perceive its revelation of a powerful intellect. Nor was it lacking in manly courage. Mr. Shepard stood up in Tammany Hall and told its leaders to their teeth that he was not there "to excuse or recede from anything" he had said against them; that he does not "approve all that has been done in the city administration," but believes that "specific reforms" are necessary "not only in the Police Department, but in other departments"; and that "if the power of the Mayor shall come to me, it will be used to effect these reforms." At the same time, we believe that Mr. Shepard is wholly wrong in placing his splendid abilities at the service of Richard Croker, and that the task which he has proposed to himself to accomplish is one which he never should have undertaken, one which, when he did undertake it, he set about in the wrong way, and one which, under the circumstances, must prove too formidable for even his great powers and honest purpose. For what is that task, as he himself defines it? It is to "bring to the Democratic party a useful and fruitful prestige, consistent in every way with the highest public service." In other words, Mr. Shepard aims at purifying and restoring the Democratic party. For that he seeks the mayoralty. On that score he appeals to wavering independent Democrats, upon whom the spell of the old party name and the old party leaders is so strong. He plainly cherishes the hope of re-embodying, to the masses of the party throughout the land, the spirit of inflexible reform which was so long associated with the name of Tilden, and afterwards with that of Cleveland.

Mention of the latter recalls the way in which his attitude towards the mayoralty of Buffalo in 1881 contrasts sharply with that of Mr. Shepard towards the mayoralty of New York in 1901. When Mr. Cleveland was asked by the Democrats to stand as Mayor, he made his consent depend upon the personnel of his associates on the ticket. In fact, not until the remainder of the city ticket was actually put in nomination, not until an objectionable candidate for Comptroller had been pushed aside, did Grover Cleveland allow himself to be nominated. He would not stand at the head of a reform ticket if rogues were to be scattered all the way down it. This is the position that Mr. Shepard should have taken when asked to accept the Tammany nomination. He should have insisted upon knowing who his associates were to be. He should have demanded borough and county nominees who would uphold his hands, instead of tying them. If this had not been conceded, he could have scornfully left Tammany to wallow in its own mire, and made its defeat certain. In that way he could have spared himself the mortification of standing upon a platform which consists of one long and defiant glorification of those very Tammany vices which he declares that he means to cut away with unsparing hand. We are certain that by his lack of Mr. Cleveland's resolute courage and foresight, he has in advance fatally crippled himself in the work which we do not doubt he has honestly at heart.

The Democrats of Philadelphia are at this moment giving Mr. Shepard a valuable object-lesson in purifying and restoring the party. They are doing it by cutting off the heads of their thieving committeemen. No less than six of the Donnelly-Ryan ringsters were compelled to walk the plank by the reformers under the lead of ex-Gov. Pattison. In Philadelphia they have learned that reform is not safe in the hands of its enemies. But suppose Mr. Shepard had insisted upon such a simple earnest of reform in Tammany. Why, the Tammany General Committee would have looked as if dynamite had exploded under it! Croker would have had to flee to Wantage before the election, instead of after it. The Engels and Sullivans and Gradys would have had to take refuge permanently in their favorite boozing-kens. The thieves and blackmailers of the Hall would have hastened to arrange their bail-bonds.

That Mr. Shepard did nothing of the kind was his fatal mistake. He should have seen that no reform of official

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crime is possible without refusing to have anything to do with the criminals. Moral purity comes before party purity. Mr. Shepard's natural place, his place of greatest dignity and greatest usefulness, was with the decent people of the city who have banded themselves together to oppose Tammany Hall, not as a political party, but as a den of thieves. First get rid of the bandits, and then talk about reforming your party as much as you please. The case is one for heroic surgery, for a resolute application of the cautery to the gangrene. It is not the way of physicians to purify and restore an infected limb by exposing themselves to contamination by its poison; they cut the festering member clean off. And, with all the respect we entertain for Mr. Shepard, we can but tell him that he is in more danger from Tammany Hall than Tammany Hall is from him. He pointed, in his speech, to the fact that Tammany came back stronger than ever, worse than ever, after its temporary reverses at the hands of Mayor Havemeyer and Mayor Strong. But he forgot to say what happened after Mr Hewitt took the Tammany nomination in 1886, in the same spirit, Mr. Shepard says, that animates him in taking it now. Mr. Hewitt tried to reform Tammany from the inside, but he has told us how the thing worked. He was thwarted and counterworked from the first and was thrown aside angrily at the end of his term, and Tammany came back then to run that career of riotous crime which was exposed in 1894. What guarantee can Mr. Shepard give the independent Democrats that he will not suffer the same fate in the maw of the same tiger?

It is at this critical point of refusing even the appearance of an alliance with scoundrels that Mr. Shepard is most in peril. He denied again on Thursday that it would be right for him to use the powers of the Mayor to "disintegrate Tammany Hall." Yet he himself has told us that Tammany is the "disintegrating and corrupting" power that is undermining civilization in this city. How, then, can an honest Mayor help aiming at the disintegration of such a power? Every good appointment he makes, every rascal he sends to jail (as Henry George said he would send Croker to jail if he were elected Mayor), is necessarily a disintegrating blow at Tammany Hall. But Mr. Shepard alleges that it would be "gross treason to the cause of government" to use the mayoralty against Tammany. This, we must say, leaves us gasping. If this be treason, then we can only say with Drake, in the verses which he published in the *Evening Post* in 1819, under the unconsciously prophetic nom de plume of "Croaker":

"And reason is treason in Tammany Hall."

It is not treason, but reason, to assert that the Mayor of New York is bound to use all the power of his office to fight intrenched official corruption. To do that, as Mr. Shepard knows, as every man knows, is to fight and endeavor to disintegrate Tammany Hall. He will find, therefore, if elected Mayor, that the first things he will have to set himself to do, in order to restore to the Democratic party its "fruitful prestige," is to cut away the cancer of Crokerism. And the pity of it is that, when the best men in New York are getting together to do the job thoroughly, Mr. Shepard should have refused them his help.

TAMMANY AND THE COURTS.

"As a citizen and a lawyer trained amid better standards," wrote Samuel J. Tilden, about thirty years ago, in his pamphlet on the rise and fall of the Tweed ring, "I had seen the descent of the bench and the bar with inexpressible concern." He added that in conversations with Charles O'Conor he "had often questioned whether those of us at the bar who had ceased to be dependent for a livelihood upon professional earnings, ought not to feel ourselves under a providential call, on the first opportunity, to open to the younger members of the profession a better future than that which was closing in upon them." So strong were Mr. Tilden's feelings in this matter that he "had advised a son of Francis Kernan, who came here to begin a career, to return to Utica rather than confront the degrading competition to which a young man would be exposed."

Nearly twenty years later, James Russell Lowell, in an address on independence in politics, spoke in more general terms of the obstacles interposed to the honorable aspiration of young men for public life. "What to me is the saddest feature of our present methods," said this acute student of democratic institutions, "is the pitfalls which they dig in the path of ambitious and able men who feel that they are fitted for a political career, that by character and training they could be of service to their country, yet who find every avenue closed to them, unless at the sacrifice of the very independence which gives them a claim to what they seek. As, in semi-barbarous times, the sincerity of a converted Jew was tested by forcing him to swallow pork, so these are required to gulp without a wry face what is as nauseous to them. I would do all in my power to render such loathsome compliances unnecessary."

The "degrading competition" which the great New Yorker so earnestly deprecated, a generation ago, and the "loathsome compliances" which still later stirred the indignation of the New England philosopher, yet characterize our politics, and they are illustrated in the Tammany ticket which is headed by Edward M. Shepard. The administration of justice is the most important feature of government in this city. The voters of Manhattan, a fortnight hence, are to decide in no small measure how the laws shall be enforced for some time to come. They are also to show what they consider proper standards for high offices connected with the courts; what sort of men they think should be placed in responsible and honorable positions as public prosecutor and as judges.

The District Attorney of New York County represents the public in the prosecution of offenders among a population of considerably more than two millions—almost as many people as there are in the whole thickly settled State of Massachusetts. He deals with criminals of all degrees; he can largely compel or prevent the indictment of criminals who have powerful interests behind them; he can to a great extent decide whether the indicted criminal shall be promptly convicted by a relentless use of the State's power, or whether the case shall be allowed to drag along until escape can be secured by some cunning device or other. The office demands the highest legal talents, the loftiest character, the most unqualified public confidence in the incumbent's purpose and ability to do absolute justice. In Henry W. Unger, Tammany presents for District Attorney a candidate whose strength as a lawyer is chiefly his skill in pettifogging, whose record as an assistant under Col. Gardiner was most discreditable, whose nomination is openly charged to have been dictated by "the gambling combine," and whose reputation renders entirely credible this distinct accusation against him by Justice Jerome.

A justice of the Supreme Court in this State is elected for a term of fourteen years, and his salary in New York County is $17,500. It is fast becoming the rule to reëlect by common consent any judge whose conduct has been unexceptionable, so that a good lawyer who reaches the bench of this court at forty-five or thereabouts may expect to retain his seat until he must be retired by the age limitation at seventy. Under these circumstances, a place as Justice of the Supreme Court should be one of the great prizes for the legal profession in the metropolis—the reward of a proved judicial temperament, an established character, and a conceded ability. For one of the positions on this bench soon falling vacant, Tammany presents Robert A. Van Wyck, a man who has for four years past as Mayor given repeated displays of an ungovernable temper and an unconcealed prejudice, who has been almost unanimously pronounced "conspicuously unfit for judicial position" by the Bar Association of the city, who has shown his moral bluntness by his readiness to speculate in the stock of a company which was largely dependent upon the favor of the city authorities. For another justiceship, Tammany

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presents Charles W. Dayton, a lawyer of respectable ability, who had, as the price of his nomination by Croker, to swallow his own words and to break his own pledges, as thus uttered only four years ago:

"I am in this fight to inflict upon Richard Croker and the brutal despotism which he has established in Tammany Hall the most serious possible injury. My friends in Tammany Hall had builded for me a splendid future. They had pointed out in their mind's eye a career that I was to occupy, if only I would bow down and worship at the shrine of Crokerism. That, my friends, I never did, and, as I value my citizenship and my reverence to the Almighty, I never will."

The Tammany ticket as it affects the courts thus represents servility to an odious boss, who requires a lawyer to gulp the most nauseous dose which could be forced down his throat; it represents a defiance of well-established standards for the bench so gross that the bar rises in indignant protest against the outrage; it represents a surrender to the worst possible influences of the office in which as public prosecutor a man can render immense service or work terrible harm to the interests of the community. Such nominations as those of Dayton, Van Wyck, and Unger, if ratified at the polls, mean a "descent of the bench and the bar" now such as Samuel J. Tilden deplored thirty years ago. If we still had "the same Edward M. Shepard as of old," we should have now a most effective foe of such abuses, as we had a generation ago in the great Democrat whom he so much admires. It is perhaps the worst injury which the Edward M. Shepard of to-day is doing this city that he is lending an honored name to a later Tweed, who, like the earlier one, seeks to bend the courts to his purposes.

VAN BUREN AND SHEPARD.

Mr. Edward M. Shepard's 'Life of Martin Van Buren,' in the "American Statesmen" series, is an excellent and valuable book. Its main historical importance lies in its rectification of prejudiced and unfounded views of Van Buren's character. But it also yields, incidentally, an interesting and instructive glimpse of Mr. Shepard's own political doctrines, judgments, standards. What he now means by calling himself "a Democrat through and through" may be best understood by his sympathetic account of the rise and solidification of the Democratic creed of 1828-1840—the leading articles of which were government reduced to the minimum, free trade, and a sound currency. But Mr. Shepard's deliberately recorded dicta on politicians and their methods are what lends most timeliness and piquancy to a re-reading of his biography of Van Buren. We propose to make a few extracts, in order to allow the past to light up the present, the historian to comment upon the candidate.

In the mixture of strength and weakness, good and evil, which was in Van Buren as in every other man, Mr. Shepard singles out matter for praise and for blame with singular skill and impartiality. His admiration for courage and frankness in the politician, when exhibited, is expressed in no measured terms. Thus, he says of Van Buren, while the election of 1840 was pending, that he "submitted to frequent interrogation."

"In a fashion that would seem *fatal to a modern candidate*, he wrote to political friends and enemies alike, letter after letter, restating his political opinions."

Previously he had said of the intrepid and masterly way in which Van Buren, as President, met the panic of 1837:

"There was no effort to *evade the questions put to him*, or to *divert public attention from the true issues.*"

The sharpest test of the stuff that was in Van Buren came in 1844. He was anxious for another nomination, and might have had it, with the practical certainty of election, if he had been willing to give "no offence to the South" in the matter of the annexation of Texas. But his record was adverse to annexation, and "his opinion was still adverse." So, says Mr. Shepard, "he did not flinch. He resorted to no *safe generalizations*." He wrote the explicit letter which cost him the Presidency. Thereupon his biographer moralizes as follows:

"To a Presidential candidate the eve of a national convention is dim with the *self-deceiving twilight of sophistry;* and the twilight deepens when *a question is put upon which there is a division* among those who are or who may be his supporters. He can *keep silence*, . . . he can *ignore the question*, . . . he can affect an *enigmatical dignity*. Van Buren did neither."

But on some occasions the biographer has to condemn shiftiness or truckling. For example, Van Buren really disliked the introduction of the spoils system under Jackson. Yet he did not think it politic to "oppose the ruinous and demoralizing" practice. For this, writes Mr. Shepard, "for his *acquiescence*, or *even for his silence*," he must receive "a part of the condemnation which the American people, as time goes on, will more and more visit upon one of the *great political offences* committed against their *political integrity and welfare*." Similar is the sentence which Mr. Shepard feels compelled to pronounce upon Van Buren's attitude towards the bill for excluding anti-slavery publications from the mails. On this subject the candidate seems to have thought, with Sir Walter Scott, that "there were questions which *did not entitle the questioner to be told the truth*." The only excuse which Mr. Shepard finds himself able to offer is: "*This persuasive casuistry usually overcomes a candidate for great office in the stress of conflict.*"

But Mr. Shepard does not confine himself to the specific instances in which Van Buren met with "*clear and decided* answers" those "living issues dangerously dividing men *ready to vote for him if he would but remain quiet.*" He endeavors to work out a general political philosophy from the details of Van Buren's long career. In him he traces that "exalted art of the politician" which "gathers and binds to one another and to a creed the elements of a political party, the art which disciplines and guides the party, when formed, to clear and definite purposes, without wavering and without weakness or demagogy." That is the ideal; but what are the necessary means to attain it? Why, "the golden rule of successful politics," writes Mr. Shepard, is to "*foresee future benefits rather than remember past injuries.*" This is precisely what the nomination of Shepard by Croker is said by indignant Tammanyites to prove to be the boss's principle. Their version, however, is not thrown into such elegant literary form. What they say is: "Soak it to Croker hard enough and he'll give you an office."

We have not been at pains to point the *de te fabula* in these extracts from Mr. Shepard's writings. They speak for themselves. But a moral for the Tammany candidate may be drawn from the life of a friend of Van Buren's as well. In 1838 Washington Irving was asked, as Mr. Shepard was in 1901, to lend an honored name for the base uses of Tammany Hall. What would not Mr. Shepard's best friends give if he had acted as Irving did? In a letter to his sister the author of 'Knickerbocker' wrote:

"Yesterday I had a full deputation from Tammany Hall at the cottage, informing me that I had been unanimously and vociferously nominated as Mayor, and hoping that I would consent to be a candidate. *Of course, I declined.*"

THE PRESIDENCY OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

One of the numerous genuine achievements of President Low during his incumbency at Columbia University has been an awakening of civic pride in the institution. Its importance to the community, as well as the duty of public-spirited citizens to contribute to its growth and prosperity, was but little understood while the University was in the cramped and inadequate quarters which covered but a single block at Madison Avenue and Forty-ninth Street. Following Mr. Low's own generous example, men of means were not slow to realize the responsibility which rested upon them, and they have contributed liberally to the expenses of moving and of building the new home, as well as to the guarantee fund which has helped to tide the University over a serious crisis in its financial history. In his last annual report, Mr. Low was able to call attention to recent bequests from two men, Dorman B. Eaton and Henry Villard, both specially interested in Harvard University, as proof that even citizens of other university affiliations are

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recognizing their obligations to the city and to the city's chief educational institution.

Reciprocally, the time has come when the intelligent public realizes that it is deeply concerned in the actions of the University authorities, and that the institution is pledged to repay the community's invaluable interest by unwavering devotion to its ideals, and by a steady improvement in the amount and quality of the instruction offered. Even the heat and excitement of the present political campaign have not distracted the attention of many people not directly interested in the University, from the serious problem which now confronts its trustees in finding a successor for Mr. Low. With the growth of the modern college and university, the difficulty of securing a man with the numerous qualities essential for the proper administration of a great institution and for the leadership of its teaching staff naturally increases year by year. The University of Wisconsin and Williams College are now also in search of heads, and it is an open secret that still other institutions would like to be free to choose again. In each case the sense of what depends upon the wisdom of the choice, as respects the intellectual development of the rising generation, makes the selection extremely difficult.

In the case of Columbia the first consideration will naturally be the type of man to be selected, since the division of the duties of the office between two men, often suggested, is not yet possible. Some of the names already mentioned are those of men similar to Mr. Low by virtue of their wealth, social standing, and public and business activity. It is of primary importance that the trustees shall carefully consider whether Columbia has not grown beyond the need of such a kind of leader. It is understood that Mr. Low had contemplated resigning for some time before receiving the urgent call of the honest and decent elements to lead the fight against Croker's "cohorts of corruption." His reason for this is reported to have been his realization of the fact that the urgent need for a skilled business man has now disappeared. The college year just closed was the most favorable one financially for some time past. It is generally believed that the financial problems arising out of the extremely costly moving of the University and the placing it upon a broader and better basis have either been solved, or are in a fair way to be solved without difficulty. It is also true that, because of the character of certain investments, the approaching expiration of various important leases, and for other reasons, the prosperity of the University will grow steadily and almost automatically. Furthermore, the hold it has obtained upon the affections of this wealthy community makes its financial outlook extremely hopeful.

Under these circumstances Mr. Low may well have felt, as do many graduate and non-graduate friends of the University, that Columbia's need now is for a President who has had sufficient training and experience in modern methods of university instruction to fit him to strengthen the teaching force. That there are some extremely able professors of international reputation at Columbia is known to every one familiar with American educational conditions. Some departments are exceptionally strong, but there are others which are unusually weak. Such development as there has been in the teaching force seems to many to have been very uneven, and in the direction of a mere numerical increase rather than in the securing of men of remarkable knowledge and power. As a result, Columbia has not yet attained that position in the world of learning to which its opportunities, its means, and its duties entitle it, and which it is infallibly destined to take, sooner or later. One of the quickest ways to win that position would be through the appointment of a strong and fearless educator, who would not hesitate to remove the present useless timber. He should also insist most rigidly upon the enforcement of the high entrance requirements, without favor to any one, and upon keeping the standards for degrees inviolable. A few years under the leadership of such a man would make a wonderful difference in the value of Columbia's teaching force, and in its service to the community, both inside and outside of the classroom.

When President Gilman of Johns Hopkins found it necessary to resign his office, he preceded the action by writing a letter to each member of the faculty, asking his views as to the man best fitted to succeed to the presidency. This formal action is, we believe, unique in American college history, and we commend it, or a similar step, to the trustees of Columbia as the first move towards the solution of their problem. To expect professors to volunteer their views is to expect the impossible, particularly if some of their own number are mentioned for the position. Moreover, the practice of informal conferences between trustees and professors frequently leads to misunderstandings, or to a failure to obtain the complete view of the situation desired. With the opinions of the faculty secured, the search for the proper man should be not a little simplified. It is inconceivable that, having the interests of the University at heart, a very large majority should do else than point out the necessity of securing a broad-minded and well-trained teacher, who would command the respect and support not only of the faculty, but also of those citizens who have the right to insist that from now on the University shall grow rapidly in matters intellectual.

THE YALE BICENTENARY.

The bicentennial celebration of the founding of Yale College falls at a time in the history of the institution itself, and in the development of our educational system as well, which makes it really mark the practical beginning of a new era. We speak now, and we shall hereafter speak more and more, of Yale University, but it is the College whose origin is recalled by the exercises at New Haven this week, as it was Harvard College whose two hundred and fiftieth birthday was observed in 1886. So-called "universities" we have had, by the dozen, for scores of years, especially in the newer and rawer sections of the country, but we had to wait practically until about the end of the nineteenth century before Harvard, or Yale, or Columbia, or Princeton had any just warrant for assuming the broader title.

Yale College, like Harvard and others of long life, was established primarily to train young men for the ministry. The President was always a clergyman; the course of instruction was largely theological; it was expected that the graduates would generally become preachers. Nothing could so emphasize the contrast between the college of 1701 and the university of 1901 as the fact that the President is now a man who is not a minister, but who has become a recognized authority in studies so far removed from ancient theology as modern economics. This layman came to his place at a time when the number of students intending to become clergymen had sunk to a very small percentage, and the last requirement in the prescribed curriculum of an education originally designed to prepare young men for the ministry has now disappeared. Meanwhile, other departments, for the study of science, theology, medicine, law, music, and the fine arts, have been established, and of late have grown into steadily larger importance, a graduate school has developed rapidly within recent years, and a school of forestry has been started under promising auspices. Yale thus enters upon a new century of time and a new century of its own existence well entitled to the name of university.

Conservatism has characterized the attitude of Yale towards the new theories of the higher education which have been advanced during the past quarter of a century. It has not sullenly opposed modern methods, but it has insisted upon testing the New before accepting it as necessarily wiser than the Old. In his address at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of Harvard, James Russell Lowell defined the general purpose of college education as being "to set free, to supple, and to train the fac-

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ulties in such wise as shall make them most effective for whatever task life may afterwards set them, for the duties of life rather than for its business, and to open windows on every side of the mind where thickness of wall does not prevent it." He added:

"Let our aim be, as hitherto, to give a good all-round education fitted to cope with as many exigencies of the day as possible. I had rather the college should turn out one of Aristotle's four-square men, capable of holding his own in whatever field he may be cast, than a score of lop-sided ones developed abnormally in one direction. Our scheme should be adapted to the wants of the majority of undergraduates, to the objects that draw them hither, and to such training as will make the most of them after they come. Special aptitudes are sure to take care of themselves, but the latent possibilities of the average mind can only be discovered by experiment in many directions."

The great university of the twentieth century, under President Hadley, is a very different thing from the little college under President Pierson, two hundred years ago. But the animating purpose of the institution has remained unchanged through all the long period which intervenes, and it was never so strongly emphasized as it is to-day. The Puritan colonists established colleges in order to train men to become leaders in the community at a time when such leadership in New England was almost monopolized by the clergy, who were authorities almost as much outside the sphere of theology as in the church. An educated ministry, half a dozen generations ago, practically met the demand for an intelligent class among a people who accepted the minister as their guide in matters temporal as well as in matters spiritual. Mr. Lowell affirmed that "to the teaching and example of those reverend men whom Harvard bred and then planted in every hamlet as pioneers and outposts of her doctrine, Massachusetts owes the better part of her moral and intellectual inheritance." Connecticut owes a similar debt to graduates of Yale in the days when most graduates became clergymen, and the obligation extends far beyond the boundaries of that State.

Yale, like Harvard, has few graduates in these days who enter the ministry, and no clergyman in this century can be the commanding influence in any community that the New England parson was universally a hundred years ago, and continued to be in some retired towns even fifty years ago. But the lawyer, the banker, the merchant, the business man of any type can be leaders in all that makes for good citizenship, and that institution does most for the nation which best trains young men for this highest service of the educated class. The well-equipped university must furnish adequate opportunities for the specialist in every branch of learning, it must encourage men to become experts in one and another line of study, it must develop scholars, and investigators, or it will fail in one of its missions. But it may do all this, and yet not succeed in what should be the chief aim of the higher education in a democracy—the training of young men to exemplify and to enforce good citizenship. We had good government, sound standards, and high ideals without having eminent specialists, and we can have eminent specialists without being sure of those virtues which are essential to the well-being of the state. We need, most of all, the "four-square men," who can grapple with the grave problems of the new century, bringing to their solution the training in fundamentals which is the most important function of education. It is the chief honor of Yale College that under many famous teachers it has impressed this lesson upon generations of Americans in the past. It is the most hopeful augury for the future of Yale University that, under President Hadley, it seems certain to do this most important work more successfully than it was ever done before.

PRINCESS LIEVEN.—II.

PARIS, October 11, 1901.

Madame de Lieven's relations with Guizot began in 1836, at a dinner at the Duke de Broglie's, where they sat by each other and conversed together; but Greville is right when he says that "their intimacy no doubt was established after he had begun to play a great political part, for his literary and philosophical celebrity would not alone have had much charm for her." M. Daudet will have it that a letter of Madame de Lieven to Guizot, dated June 24, 1839, fixes the exact time when their friendship became a close alliance. "It is just two years to-day since we dined together at Châtenay, and that we came back together. Do you remember it?" Châtenay was the country house of Madame de Boigne. They had taken a walk there in the park. Guizot had lost his second wife; Madame de Lieven had lost her two sons, and her husband had for a long time lived apart from her. Guizot was fifty years old; she was fifty-three. She confided her sorrows to him, and he reminded her afterwards in a letter of what passed at Châtenay. "Remember that the first word which really united us was this: 'From this day, you will no longer be alone.'"

From that day, when they both seemed to have pronounced the words which are a tie for eternity, Madame de Lieven renounced all idea of living in England; she established herself in Paris, in Talleyrand's old hôtel at the corner of the Rue St. Florentin, which is now inhabited by Alphonse de Rothschild. She took only the first floor.

"Her room," says M. Daudet, "was the one once occupied by the Prince. In this apartment, where Talleyrand himself, in 1814, had received the Emperor Alexander, she was, for nearly twenty years, to receive every day, in the afternoon and in the evening, everybody who counted for anything in politics and diplomacy, happy to do the honors of the salon, which had so much charm for her solely because he [Guizot] reigned in it like a sovereign. People came for him as much as for her. But the *habitués* knew that there were hours when they must not present themselves. They knew that Mme. Lieven and Guizot, when he was in Paris, saw each other regularly twice a day, and that everything was arranged so that they should not be disturbed in their tête-à-tête."

When Guizot was away from Paris, Madame de Lieven was inconsolable; and he used to go every year to his country place at Val-Richer. He was extremely devoted to his family, to his old mother, to his children. Madame de Lieven admired his family virtues, but she could not help seeing rivals in those who had such a large share of Guizot's affections. After a separation, she writes to him (July 28, 1838):

"Ah! how heavy and insupportable time will now be. I am already overwhelmed by the thought of it. I want to cry twenty times a day. I am so desolate that it seems to me I have not seen you for a year. Where shall I find courage? Adieu. I am going to read your letter again, but to read it is to cry. Give me strength."

He answers her:

"You ask me to give you strength. I have had much of it in my lifetime, never with the feeling that I had enough of it. On the contrary, I often felt that I was on the point of losing it. I can only give you much affection. Change it into strength if you can. I should like you to do so. When I am near you I hope that you can. But so far! Still, there is something there, even at a distance."

We see, in a letter, that she was accustomed to receive a line from Guizot every day when they were separated. Once, when she was obliged, on business matters, to go to Baden while he was at Val-Richer, she writes:

"What! no letter from you to-day! For heaven's sake, don't cause me such inquietude. I cannot bear it. It seems to me now that the greatest misfortune for me is not to receive a letter from you for two days. I cannot think of anything else since yesterday's five o'clock, the hour of the post. I have been far in the mountains, in the forests. It was so fine, it would be so fine with you! I should need nothing more, nobody; what goes on in the world would be indifferent to me. You cannot imagine how much this thought pleases me; but then, I was so sad! so sad! so sad! You are so far away."

One cannot but wonder at such expressions of passion, which savor more of youth than of mature age; and one cannot wonder if Guizot could not remain insensible to them. At the same time, such excessive appeals make one suspect that there was something a little artificial in them; the cold reader can feel it, if M. Guizot could not. There is too much study in her expansiveness and outbursts of affection, though at times it seems as if nature alone spoke—for instance, when she writes simply: "I love you; I love you; I am waiting for you. . . ." She is not so simple when she writes: "If I spoke the language of Petrarch, I would tell you that as soon as there rises in my mind a sweet impression, it leaves me, and goes looking for you. If it finds you, it returns to me. If it does not, I lose it altogether." Or when she says: "I walked alone for two hours, as young as the air, the woods, the fields. I mention it only to you; you will mention it to nobody. . . . I should like to have you, like my valley, fresh and smiling. I look at it with envy while thinking of you. I see you thin, sad, despondent, in tears. I remain in you; I will always remain in you."

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This is certainly very curious language coming from a lady of ripe years, whose whole life has been given to the world, to the great political interests of her time, who lives only with statesmen and politicians. It seems as if her life were divided into two parts, one given exclusively to the world, the other to her passion; and, singularly enough, the numerous extracts from her correspondence made by M. Daudet do not show any fusion of these different interests. It seems almost impossible that she did not sometimes introduce in her correspondence political views and considerations. If the whole correspondence is ever published, the public will be more interested by those considerations than by purely emotional effusions.

M. Guizot's letters written in answer to hers are very fine; they are more grave, sometimes they become very eloquent. You feel in reading them that Guizot was a Huguenot, that he had received a very religious education. In answer to a letter in which Madame de Lieven was complaining louder than usual of the loss of her children, Guizot writes:

"When cruel images besiege you, when you are surrounded only by the dead, make an effort, go out of these tombs—*they* are out of them already, they are elsewhere. We shall go where they are. I have long tried to know where they are. I have found in my efforts only darkness and anxiety. It is because it is not given to us, it is not allowed us, to see clearly from one shore to the other. If we saw clearly that they were there, before our eyes, calling for us, expecting us, could we bear to remain where we are as long as God orders it? Could we proceed to the end of our task? We should refuse all work, we should abandon everything; we should throw away our burden, and we should fling ourselves toward the shore where we saw them clearly. God will not have it, my friend; God wishes us to remain where he has placed us, as long as he plants us there. This is why he refuses us this certain and vivid light which would draw us invincibly elsewhere. This is why he covers with darkness this unknown place where those who are dear to us would take our whole soul.

"But obscurity does not destroy what it hides; this other shore to which they have preceded us exists, though a cloud covers the river which separates us from it. We must renounce seeing, we must renounce understanding. We must believe in God. Since I have wrapt myself in this faith in God, since I have cast at his feet all the pretensions of my intellect and even the premature ambitions of my soul, I walk in peace even in the night, and I have attained certainty by accepting my ignorance. *How I wish* I could give you the same security, the same peace. I do not renounce, I will not renounce hoping for it."

We cannot much wonder if Madame de Lieven was anxious to keep up a correspondence which procured her such letters. The one I have cited, which sounds like an eloquent sermon and which might be read from the pulpit, is quite in harmony with all we know of M. Guizot. His figure remains in our mind with a sort of majesty such as we behold in the admirable portrait by Paul Delaroche.

The correspondence becomes very interesting at the time when Guizot was sent as Ambassador to London. Mme. de Lieven was so familiar with English society and English ways that she was very useful to him. On his return from London, the question of their marriage was agitated between them. They both desired this union, "but," says M. Daudet, "she could not resign herself to giving up the title and the name which she had so long borne; and, on his side, Guizot would not hear of a morganatic marriage. The project was abandoned almost as soon as formed, but their mutual affection did not suffer by it." During the long period of his ministry, Guizot went regularly to her, "three times a day," says Greville, "on his way to and his way from the Chamber, when it was sitting, and in the evening. But while he was by far her first object, she cultivated the society of all the conspicuous and remarkable people whom she could collect about her."

The Revolution of 1848 dispersed all the members of her salon; she was so frightened by it that she thought it necessary to escape for a time to England. She returned to Paris after a while, and so did Guizot, who constantly refused to take any part again in political life and lived in dignified retirement. His friend Mme. de Lieven, though she remained always on the same terms with him, soon became reconciled to the imperial régime, and her salon was soon replenished with the adherents of the Empire, and she had herself presented in due form to Napoleon. This was going a step too far, and furnished an argument to those who had never quite looked upon her with sympathy, and who supposed she was continuing to keep her Government *au courant* of many things. When the war with Russia began, she was ordered to leave Paris and went to Brussels, where she spent nearly two years. She died in Paris, after a short illness, on January 26, 1872, at the age of seventy-two. Guizot was with her in her last moments. She left him in her will an income of 8,000 francs and a carriage. She could not bear the idea of his not having a carriage.

Correspondence.

RECIPROCITY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the discussion of free trade, protection, and reciprocity, which has an ever-broadening and deepening interest, I have frequently referred to the words of Confucius, which I do not recall seeing in the *Nation* or in any periodical. When a pupil asked, "Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" the Master said, "Is not *reciprocity* such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others."

It is a fatal mistake to put this question outside the domain of morals and religion, and class it political. As the Hebrews called the rest of the world "Gentile," and the Greek "Barbarian," the old morals, the old religion, and the old politics were the high protective idea which drew a line or built a wall around its own borders, and let the rest of the world shift for itself: the new morals, the new religion, and the new politics mean, as fast as you can come to it, the free-trade idea, founded on the reciprocity of nations and the brotherhood of man. Is not this the essence of Christianity?

James De Normandie.

45 Lambert Avenue, Boston,
October 16, 1901.

THE NEW FRENCH DOCTORATE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your issue of September 2, 1897, you published a letter from Professor Bréal, outlining the requirements for the new *doctorat universitaire*, which the University of Paris was then on the point of establishing, especially for the benefit of foreigners, who might wish to bring home with them a visible evidence of the work which they had accomplished. It had been noted with regret that Americans, particularly, preferred to spend their years of foreign study in Germany, not so much because of the superior advantages which they could find there, as because of the diploma which they could bring home, and which was found to be of great service in the search for college and university positions. The new degree was thus intended to have a certain commercial value, and to be a serious competitor of the German doctorate. It did away with all the time-honored traditions of the French higher degrees. The antecedents of the candidates were as much as possible disregarded. In the Faculty of Letters the term of study was fixed at two years, entire freedom was allowed in the selection of subjects and in the number of courses to be followed, and the sole stress was laid upon the *thèse* and the *examen oral*. Those familiar with the French system of academic degrees could see at once that the *doctorat universitaire* resembled the French doctorate in its external features, but that it was easier to obtain.

Three years have now passed since the ministerial decree authorizing the new degree (April 1, 1898) was published; the machinery has been moving, and grooves are beginning to wear. It seems not out of place, therefore, to consider whether, from the American point of view, the new degree meets the purpose for which it was established. An opportunity to observe the practical workings of the system, on a recent visit to Paris, has convinced me that this new degree cannot take the place for which it was intended until the period of study is lengthened to the minimum required in our best universities, and until the conditions of examination are made as severe as they are at home. At present it is far easier to obtain this French degree than the similar American degree.

Considerations of a practical nature increase the distrust of its value. A large portion of the first year must perforce be lost to the American student before he is able to follow the lectures to the best advantage. In the next place, he is obliged to study in large libraries, where he can obtain only to a limited degree that close and intimate acquaintance with the literature of his subject which is made so easy for him through our own liberal system of seminary libraries. Finally, in the place of that close supervision of his work which he finds at home, he is thrown back upon his own initiative. Many of those who have studied in Paris have reason to recall with pleasure the interest manifested in their work by the masters whom they come to follow. But they must also remember the number of other Americans, less fortunate than themselves, who stumbled seemingly without aim from one lecture-room to the other, and who would have derived far more benefit from a year or two of advanced study at home.

There can be no question that study abroad is of untold value to the student; in the case of a teacher of French, residence in France is even an absolute necessity. But there is a question when this

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foreign study should be undertaken. A single year abroad when the subject is well in hand and the bibliography is mastered, will serve a far better purpose than two years at the period when the elements of the science must yet be learned.

It has for some time been a matter of regret that certain German universities would confer the doctor's degree under conditions easier than those of this country. The new French degree is open to the same criticism. There was a time when the ambitious young scholar could not find in this country either the teachers or the libraries which he needed. At that time American degrees were regarded doubtfully in Europe. Has the time now come when the similar European degrees must be criticised in America?

JOHN E. MATZKE.

LELAND STANFORD JR. UNIVERSITY,
October 15, 1901.

Notes.

Yale's bicentenary is to be still further illustrated by 'Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale, 1701-1901,' edited by three graduates, and published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

From Messrs. Scribner we are to have 'The Pianoforte and its Music,' by Henry E. Krehbiel; 'More Animals,' by Oliver Herford; and 'The Apostles' Creed,' by Dr. McGiffert.

'The Crow's Nest,' by Mrs. Everard Cotes, to be published next spring by Dodd, Mead & Co., will tell of a summer spent in Simla, India.

Fleming H. Revell Co. have nearly ready 'The Lore of Cathay,' by W. A. P. Martin, D.D.

A translation of Vallary-Rodot's 'Life of Pasteur,' by H. H. Devonshire, is in the press of McClure, Phillips & Co., as are the 'Reminiscences of George S. Boutwell, ex-Governor of Massachusetts.'

Macmillan Company have in preparation 'Time-Table of Modern History, A. D. 400-1870,' compiled and arranged by M. Morison; 'A Source-Book in the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period,' by Paul Monroe; and 'The World and the Individual: Nature, Man, and the Moral Order,' by Prof. Josiah Royce of Harvard.

Ed. Frossard, No. 111 East Fourteenth Street, New York, will issue directly 'The Copper Coins of the United States,' a guide to collectors and others.

The letterpress of Britton and Brown's 'Illustrated Flora' has been both amended and abridged so as to make a single portable volume, with omission of the illustrations. It will be thus brought out by Henry Holt & Co.

L. C. Page & Co., Boston, announce for immediate publication 'A History of American Art,' in two volumes, by S. Hartmann, and 'Little Pilgrimages among the Men who have written Famous Books,' by E. F. Harkins.

B. & J. F. Meehan, No. 32 Gay Street, Bath, England, solicit subscriptions to a limited edition of 'The Famous Houses of Bath and District,' by J. F. Meehan, with an introduction by the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava. There will be fifty full-page illustrations, and numerous smaller ones, including portraits, in the text.

The Germanic Museum Association at Cambridge, Mass., has issued a circular setting forth its aims, which are to parallel the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg, the Swiss Museum at Zürich, the Hôtel de Cluny, and the like national collections. What is typical and characteristic will be sought in preference to what is striking, and contributions to a collection illustrating, through objects of art and industry, the history of civilization among the Germanic peoples (including England of the Anglo-Saxon period), are requested from "all those who care for the ideals of German culture." Membership is open to every one on payment of the prescribed fee (annual, two dollars; life, twenty-five). The President is Carl Schurz, and the Treasurer, Frederic S. Goodwin, No. 183 Essex Street, Boston.

Three years ago we reviewed in these columns the scholarly translation of Marcus Aurelius by Mr. G. H. Rendall of Charterhouse. His version, which has practically superseded all others, has now been added to the Golden Treasury Series (Macmillan Co.). Serious students of the philosophic Emperor will not be diverted from the larger work with its learned introduction, but the present edition should attract the general reader, to whom the excellent get-up and the convenient size of the Golden Treasury Series have long been familiar.

Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. bring out anew seven volumes in their uniform set of the elder Dumas's Works, and add three more for the translation of the 'Vicomte de Bragelonne,' and so complete their selection for a "Popular Edition." The price justifies this title, and the print, if unadorned, is readable. The binding is equally unpretentious. Each volume has its frontispiece and each story its introduction.

Of quite a different order of manufacture is the continuation of the "Century Classics" (The Century Co.), with Ruskin's 'Sesame and Lilies, and Crown of Wild Olives'; Franklin's Autobiography; Kingsley's 'Hypatia,' in two volumes; and Poe's Tales. These are both elegantly printed and bound, and to each is prefixed a good portrait of the author. The introductions are, as heretofore, brief and not labored.

Under the caption of "Home Library" D. C. Heath & Co. group a number of good books for the young, some previously published, like Starr's 'American Indians,' Snedden's 'Docas, the Indian Boy,' Aiken and Barbauld's 'Eyes and No Eyes,' Hiestand's abridgment of 'The Tempest'; some just issued, as, Mrs. Trimmer's 'History of the Robins,' Miss Edgeworth's 'Waste Not, Want Not,' and Miss Craik's 'So Fat and Mew Mew.' The elder works, it is needless to say, have a useful discipline in good English.

The design of 'Object-Lessons for Rural Schools,' Book I., II. (Macmillan), by V. T. Murché, is to awaken and foster in children a genuine love for the country and country pursuits. The subjects treated range from the simple natural phenomena of air and sky to the work of the farm, the structure and habits of birds and animals. The instruction is given in such a clear, entertaining, and suggestive manner that it is impossible to doubt that this series will be eminently successful in arousing in many children the spirit and habit of observation. An accompanying book is a 'Rural Reader,' in which the same author makes three bright farmer's boys tell of what they have learned at school on these same subjects. Though intended for the village schools of Great Britain, there is comparatively little in these volumes which would be unfamiliar to our children. The illustrations are numerous, admirably chosen, and in some instances of great beauty.

'Yorke the Adventurer,' by Louis Becke (Lippincott), consists of sketches of sea and island life in the South Pacific. An English critic brackets the author and Mr. Kipling as possessing the same quality of "unhackneyed vitality of phrase that most people call realism." It appears to us that in this particular the two writers are as far apart as are the Desert of Gobi and Chicago. In the opening sketch of the series—that from which the book derives its title—the author parallels (with acknowledgment of the source of inspiration) an incident in Capt. Slocum's 'Sailing Alone Around the World'—we mean his protecting himself from night attacks by Patagonian savages by profusely sprinkling his sloop's deck with sharp tacks. Capt. Yorke, instead of tacks, used broken glass furnished by several casks of empty bottles which opportunely formed a portion of his cargo. 'Yorke the Adventurer' will not appeal to mature minds; but to lads from ten to fifteen years of age perusal will give, possibly, absorbing pleasure. The last chapter of the volume, on the poisonous fishes of the Pacific, may, or may not, offer opportunity to ichthyologists to meditate on the aphorism that "everything comes to him who waits."

'On Board a Whaler,' by T. W. Hammond (Putnam's), like 'Yorke the Adventurer,' will afford agreeable entertainment to lads of adventurous impulse, to whom the sea appeals as a boundless field of daring exploit. The author is so well equipped in the technique of whaling and of a seafaring life that he avoids those solecisms which mar the greater proportion of marine literature. He follows the usual conventional routine, depicting an ocean-smitten lad who ships on a whaler, and who proceeds, consecutively, to encounter all the stock experiences, from which no deviation appears possible in tales of the sea. The one exception in the volume is found in its closing chapter, where the author, with iconoclastic frankness, demolishes the theory, so dear to laymen and so tenaciously held in fiction, that the whale is an animal of undoubted courage, ever ready to assume the offensive against its foes. To use the author's own words: "He has hardly the grit to slap a fly." The whale, he says, is dangerous only on account of its weight, strength, and agility, which demand prudence and caution on the part of its assailants, to avoid its panic-stricken, purposeless rushes when it feels the sting of the harpoon.

'From Squire to Prince,' by Walter Phelps Dodge (Unwin), is a "History of the Rise of the House of Cirksena." This family, which produced eight counts and five princes of the Holy Roman Empire, became prominent in East Frisia towards the close of the Middle Ages, and established itself as the reigning dynasty in 1430. Its last representative was Prince Charles Edzard, who died in 1744. The reversion of East Frisia belonged to the House of Brandenburg, and Fred-

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erick the Great succeeded to the inheritance of the Cirksena. We can hardly ascribe to this volume more consequence than is the due of a fairly good local chronicle. The interests of the study are genealogical rather than historical, and the composition shows signs of little skill. The most important chapter is that which deals with the reign of Count Edzard I., at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The career of the reformer Aportanus is not without some striking features, though Mr. Dodge suggests two singular comparisons when likening him to Savonarola, and the Counts of East Frisia to the Medici. The portraits, which are reproduced from originals in the town-hall at Aurich, are of some note, and make the book considerably more attractive than it would otherwise be. As an example of Mr. Dodge's philosophical observations, we quote the concluding sentence of the ninth chapter: "Its next change of country is still in abeyance, but if, as sometimes happens, the history of the past is repeated in the future, the end of East Frisia is not yet."

'The Century Book for Mothers,' by Dr. L. M. Yale and Gustav Pollak (The Century Co.), on very careful examination discloses no flaw. It is a collection of extraordinarily sensible essays upon the general care of young children, supplemented by a large number of anxious questions and intelligent answers received and given by the conductors of a magazine (*Babyhood*) devoted to that subject. The discussion is judicious and the conclusions are clearly expressed. A good table of contents and a complete index render any part of this well-made book available at once.

Weismann's theory that the effects of use or habit are *impossible* of transmission in animal life, is the subject of attack by Dr. Walter Kidd, F.Z.S., in a paper upon 'Use-Inheritance, Illustrated by the Direction of Hair on the Bodies of Animals' (London: A. & C. Black; New York: Macmillan). The author freely admits that "Weismann's great rule undoubtedly holds good very largely," but he maintains that there are exceptions, and illustrates his contention by the whorls, featherings, and crests upon hirsute mammals, and by the direction of the hair growth on the exterior surface of the forearm of certain carnivora and of man, and by the upward capillary tendency upon the muzzle of the lion, for example, as opposed to the downward growth upon the horse's face. He admits that these variations of direction are intrinsically trifling, but holds that they can be interpreted only according to Lamarck. He maintains that the eddies in the hair-stream are caused, like dimples in the human form, by the action of antagonistic muscles; and that posture, especially during sleep, and use (as the cleansing action of the paws over a lion's face) are responsible for other counter-currents. He deduces that selection is incompetent to produce these peculiarities, which, if not originally created with the forms of life, must have been produced in ancestors by use or habit. Dr. Kidd's style is not particularly clear, but his statement of facts must receive some other explanation than his before Weismann's doctrine can be accepted as having no possible exception.

Nothing could be more attractive than Mr. Max Hirsch's preface to his 'Democracy versus Socialism' (Macmillan). Socialism draws its vitality from the conviction of the poor that the institutions of society are unjust, and it cannot be suppressed by demonstrations that its remedies are impracticable. Such demonstrations must be accompanied with some positive suggestions for the removal of inequality, in order to affect the mind of the Socialist. Mr. Hirsch, accordingly, supplements his able and exhaustive exposure of the futility of socialistic schemes with an elaborate scheme of social reorganization. But, alas! when we come to examine this plan, it turns out to be nothing more than Henry George's system of confiscating the rent of land. Mr. Hirsch expounds this system with more care, although with less eloquence and strength of style, than his master; but we fail to see that he removes the fundamental objections to all schemes for attaining justice by the confiscation of property. The present owners of land have acquired it without consciousness of sin, and they are too numerous to be punished for doing what law and public sentiment have sanctioned, without causing a revolution in which the poor would lose more than they could gain.

The series of publications by the Library of Congress is notably advanced by the quarto volume 'A List of Maps of America' belonging to the Library down to November, 1897, preceded by a list of works relating to cartography, by J. Lee Phillips, chief of the division of maps and charts. This bibliography alone fills 86 pages. The MS. maps of the Revolutionary war contained in the Fader, Force, and Rochambeau collections are here revealed. The arrangement is geographically alphabetical, without subdivisions, but with cross references to the counties under each State, and the order is chronological. The rubric World requires 45 pages, and the last of all, Zisputa Bay (for the list embraces both Americas), is on page 1137. It is needless to praise this labor or to descant on its utility. A supplemental volume is in preparation.

In the *National Geographic Magazine* for October there is an account of the work of the Weather Bureau, by its chief, Dr. W. L. Moore, containing many interesting facts. A part of the daily work is the distribution of 80,000 telegrams, maps, and bulletins; and when a storm is threatened, "it is not uncommon for the Bureau to distribute 100,000 telegrams and messages inside of the space of a few hours." In five predictions there is an average of one failure, and there is not much prospect of an increase of accuracy in our time, though the receipt of reports from Europe and the Azores, recently arranged for, will extend the wind's forecast for a period of three days out from each continent. Dr. Moore gives it as the opinion of many insurance experts that the service, costing a little over a million dollars, is worth more than twenty millions to the agriculture, the commerce, and the industry of the country. Other articles are upon the work of the Bureau of American Ethnology, a summary of Peary's work, and the conclusions reached at a "conference upon the boundaries of the successive acquisitions of territory by the United States." An announcement is made that the next International Geographical Congress will be held in Washington in 1904, under the auspices of the society of which this publication is the organ.

That President McKinley should have been omitted from the "imperial panel" portrait gallery of Mr. F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia, was most unlikely. We have, in fact, just received his profile counterfeit presentment in the above series. To us, however, it appears one of the least successful of all, or is it that the best point of view was not seized? It is the fate of public characters to be treated by the camera to such a range of effigies that posterity is puzzled to select the true likeness. But then, enemies and admirers can often each find their vindicating aspect in the medley.

—Most welcome to the sight are two of the three supplementary volumes of the 'Dictionary of National Biography' (A-Chi, Chi-Hos) (London: Smith, Elder & Co.; New York: Macmillan). As is well known, this addition was designed to repair omissions, and to include notable persons who died "after the letter" in the progress of the main work, down to the date of Queen Victoria's death, January 22, 1901. By a singular fatality, Mr. George Smith, the courageous head of the publishing firm who ventured at certain loss to undertake the Dictionary, died after the Queen, on April 6. He was therefore ruled out of his own enterprise, but it was wisely determined, while denying him a place in the alphabetical succession, to give him a liberal biography at the forefront of the Supplement. This sketch is really a history of the house, and will be found interesting in a high degree. Mr. Smith's career was all the more to his credit because his animal spirits were too much for his educators, and he was but twenty-two when he had to succeed his father in the control of a large business of a multifarious kind. The connections of the house with India made them agents for the purchase and consignment even of munitions of war; and Mr. Smith himself in time became the owner of the profitable Apollinaris spring. He was the founder of the *Cornhill Magazine*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and the Dictionary. Darwin, Ruskin, G. P. R. James, Miss Brontë, Miss Martineau, Mrs. Gaskell, Thackeray, Wilkie Collins, Trollope, and Browning were some of the lights of literature and thought associated with the firm. Besides this tribute to a man of extraordinary energy, liberality, and success, he is, alone of Britain's worthies in this Dictionary, honored with a portrait. This was entirely fitting; but we wish the firm had resolved that the other two volumes should bear the frontispiece portraits of Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Stephen has no article in these two volumes at least.

—Of the thousand new names, two hundred represent accidental omissions, and among these is the American Horatio Gates, rebellious British subject. Horatio Hale, ethnologist of the Wilkes Antarctic expedition, who ended his days in Canada, on the other side of his native New Hampshire border, is among the "post-obits," if we may abuse that term. The greatest of these is Gladstone, who needs 48 pages; John Bright receives 19, and it is odd to find Lord Randolph Churchill allowed 14, though he is not fulsomely praised. Browning gets 13, and Freeman and Froude lie down to-

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gether with four and eight pages respectively, as becomes the more readable if not the more trustworthy historian. Matthew Arnold is extremely well estimated by Dr. Richard Garnett in six pages. The Duke of Argyll has the same portion. Sir W. G. Armstrong, Bessemer, and Archbishop Benson are also treated at length. Here are Black and Blackmore, Wilkie Collins and Du Maurier, Sir G. W. Dasent and C. L. Dodgson ("Lewis Carroll"), Ford Madox Brown and Burne-Jones and Birket Foster, Eliza Cook and Mary Cowden Clarke and Mme. Bodichon (remembered pleasantly of some Americans, and credited here with the idea of Girton College), Samuel Birch and Samuel Beal and Sheldon Amos, Burton and Sir Samuel W. Baker, and Baker's disgraced brother Valentine, who is not spared by reticence, H. W. Bates, the "Naturalist on the Amazon," and Henry Drummond, Airy and John Couch Adams of "Neptune" fame, Sir R. Alcock, the poet Allingham, Bradlaugh, C. C. Boycott (who minted a word against his will) and Le Caron the spy, Mrs. Catherine Booth, and many another celebrity high and low.

—The supplementary sixth volume of Mr. Larned's "History for Ready Reference" (Springfield, Mass.: C. A. Nichols Co.), with all its 720 large and closely printed pages, is devoted to the history of the six years (1894-5 to 1901) which have elapsed since the publication of the original five. This involves an enlargement of the scale of the articles which goes far to transform the character of the work. At the same time, it removes some of the objections which have been felt to the earlier tomes. It is one thing to put into the hands of young students a series of snippets from Grote and Mommsen and Green; it is another to present the general reader with the most significant and least wordy passages from the state papers and the journals of half a dozen years crowded with notable events. Certainly this volume is an exceedingly interesting one, and it will be found of the utmost value for purposes of reference. Great judgment has been displayed in the selection and arrangement of material; a wide range of recent literature has been put under contribution; and although the matter is often highly contentious (the mere names of Cuba and the Transvaal are sufficient to show this), Mr. Larned's preference for moderate statements and unemotional language will go far to conciliate all shades of opinion. And even if the conclusions should seem doubtful in many cases—and this is inevitable where so much in the way of motive can only be guessed at—the book would be worth possessing if merely for the sake of the state documents which it so conveniently brings together.

—Mr. Bradford Torrey's 'Footing it in Franconia' (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) describes hills of vision and valleys of "leisurely delights and sauntering thoughts," and is reminiscent of scientific friends—hobbyists, Mr. Torrey calls himself and them—who have shared with him the happiness of annual fortnights in New Hampshire. The book records successive visits, and, to use the author's phrase, paints in "the high lights of enthusiasm" the changing aspects of Franconia and the changing hosts of birds and plants from May until October. Mr. Torrey likes roads and foot-paths better than untracked wilderness, so he walks in travelled ways; an explorer, nevertheless, who finds them full of such rare sights as are visible to the best naturalists, and of quickening thoughts and fancies that "put a girdle round about the earth"—though in point of fact their span is generally much more slender. In an earlier book Mr. Torrey has said that he possesses two selves, the naturalist, and the reflective, imaginative lover of nature, who by turns look out upon the world. They have both been at the window here in Franconia, sometimes singly, but often together, with the naturalist in the background looking over the other's shoulder. Amid much more that might be mentioned with appreciation of its excellence, one may speak of the descriptions of the horned lark's song and flight, the music of the wood thrush, the spring flowers of the Notch road, and the felicities of berry time. The style, with its clear and pleasant course and occasional quaintness of Biblical phrasing, has long been known so favorably that it needs no comment.

—Every lover of Stevenson will care to possess 'Stevenson's Attitude to Life,' an address lately delivered by Prof. John Franklin Genung, and now reproduced in a slim volume, finely printed, and engagingly made up (Crowell & Co.). Stevenson has been fortunate in being but rarely the chosen divinity of the merely faddish person; those who have cared for him have felt towards the man and his work an actual affection which but few men of letters of recent years have had the fortune to enlist. Still, there has been of late a deal of vaporizing concerning his ethical teaching. On this account Professor Genung's clear-headed, carefully considered, yet sympathetic exposition is valuable and timely. "Stevenson," he says, "may be regarded as pioneer in the new mood or spiritual current now well under way—a mood much heartier and wholesomer than what it succeeds; nor is it on the whole less reverent, albeit far less observant of devotional or philosophical forms. We may, in a word, call it a spiritual return to nature." At a first view this statement seems somewhat startling, but by explanation and qualification Professor Genung makes it good. Of course any one caring to designate the pioneer of a movement so atmospheric as this, might successfully hold a brief for Goethe, or, coming to a later generation, might make out a specious case for persons so diverse as Robert Browning and Walter Pater. But there can be little doubt that there is a certain reenforcement of this current at the present time; and Stevenson, by virtue of his temperament, the content of his work, and all the conditions of his life, is its best protagonist. A human personality less Olympian than Goethe, the author of work more virile than the early paganism of Pater, and finer, in a way, and less blatant than much of Browning's, he has more conclusively established the thesis of "the livableness of life." It is idle to hold, as Professor Genung just escapes doing, that Stevenson's work is the logical refutation of such pessimism as Leopardi's, or the utter world-weariness of Amiel. But, though never systematic in the technical sense, Stevenson's optimism was, nevertheless, more than temperamental. It was the conscious product of a mind so sweet and wise as to hold itself inaccessible to the forebodings and despair of the most protracted ill-health. His bed-ridden page, like some music, or, as he himself says whimsically, like a good meal with a bottle of wine, makes one realize freshly the fulness, color, and eternal desirability of life, and compels the belief (so says Professor Genung) that all this can contain no treachery as to the future.

—The fourth volume of Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart's "American History Told by Contemporaries" (Macmillan) brings to a close a work of whose usefulness to students and teachers there can be no question, and which has been on the whole remarkably well done. The abundant material has been judiciously drawn upon, and balance and proportion have been well observed. The result is a mosaic which, while exhibiting the greatest variety of detail, nevertheless gives a net impression of harmony and unity. The volume just issued, with its sub-title, 'Welding of the Nation,' covers the stirring period from 1845 to 1900, and few of the salient points fail to receive something of illustration. As was to have been expected, extracts from Presidential messages, speeches in Congress, and the like are rather more numerous than in the earlier volumes, but so-called "documents" are still, in the main, consistently excluded. The range of selection continues wide, the pieces illustrative of social and economic conditions being least familiar. Perhaps part vii., on reconstruction, is least varied, the predominance of political discussion overshadowing the extracts descriptive of the actual condition of the South at the time. The subsequent period is still too new for much coördination, and Professor Hart has wisely touched upon a few of its main features only. The final chapters on the Spanish war, questions of colonization and foreign policy, and current social and governmental problems, bring the exhibit down to date. There is but one jarring note, and that is the trivial sentence with which the editor introduces a selection of his own on the Monroe Doctrine. The series as a whole is to be commended as one of the most valuable of recent aids to the study and teaching of American history.

MICHIE'S M'CLELLAN.

General McClellan. By Gen. Peter S. Michie. With illustrations and maps. (Great Commanders Series.) D. Appleton & Co. 1901. 12mo, pp. 488.

Gen. Michie's estimate of the character and military services of McClellan, which was completed just before the death of its distinguished author, comes very near meeting, if, indeed, it does not fully meet, the requirements of posterity for judging the soldier who, whatever his limitations, undoubtedly possessed many of the qualities of a great commander. The biography is thoroughly just and kind to McClellan, yet impartial and searching in its treatment of military questions; and, being written outside of that atmosphere of personal friendship or hostility which for a long time colored all attempts to appraise McClellan's work, and, moreover, with command of the host of documents, public and private, which have made clear many a once obscure and disputed fact, the book

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is a true enlightenment of our knowledge of the men and times of the civil war.

The essential conclusions which the reader will draw from the story is that McClellan fashioned, with utmost skill and success, a weapon in the shape of the Army of the Potomac, which he was quite unequal to wielding in the field, not for the reason which disabled some of his successors—of loss of head in the critical hour of battle—but because he was constantly preoccupied with concern for the possible defeat which he apprehended on account of the real or imaginary (often entirely imaginary) superiority of his adversary, and so refused many an opening of attack, and, when assailed, left the battle to be fought by his subordinates while he looked after the lines of retreat. Of this state of mind, the campaign of 1862 in the Virginia peninsula is full of examples. Gen. Michie bestows high praise upon that ability, which stood in great service to the nation in its early critical days after Bull Run, to organize and win the hearty enthusiasm of the rank and file of an army. The Army of the Potomac was made by McClellan, and to the end of its career it retained much of the character which his genius had stamped upon it. But the question will arise whether the sort of army which he insisted upon building up was suited to the need of the time, or to the mood of the country, which a wise commander would have taken into consideration. The armies of the West accomplished their ends, or at least kept the nation in a hopeful spirit (which is an important part of good generalship), with a much shorter delay in camp drill, not because, as has sometimes been alleged, of the inferiority of their adversaries as compared with the Confederate Army of Virginia, but because they were promptly thrust into action, and acquired that confidence and audacity which come only from experience under fire, and which no camp manœuvring can impart. During the long, anxious fall of 1861, when, as we now know, Johnston was lamenting the crippled and demoralized state of his Confederate troops, and was ready to beat a retreat towards Richmond upon the first signal of McClellan's advance, the latter hardly permitted his men to make a simple reconnoissance; dress parades there were in abundance, but nothing which gave the soldier the smell of powder; and thus precious opportunity for at least small successes was wasted, and the foundation was laid of that opposition to him at Washington and throughout the North which would have made his continuance in command impossible even if he could have won some moderate successes in the field, as it can hardly be said that he did.

The late Gen. Jacob D. Cox, in his 'Military Reminiscences,' was, we believe, the first historian of the war to detect the essential weakness of all McClellan's undertakings in his constant exaggeration, under the false reports of his spies, of the strength of his opponent; and Michie returns again and again to this consideration as accounting for his masterly inactivity and inordinate alarm for his army's safety upon many an occasion when victory could easily have been won. The chief of the spy service habitually doubled and trebled the numbers of the enemy, so that McClellan, in the latter days of October, 1861, in a formal communication to President Lincoln, who plaintively asked for some promise of action, declared that "the enemy have a force on the Potomac not less than one hundred and fifty thousand strong"; while Johnston's reports of the same date estimate his strength at "forty-seven thousand of all arms ready for battle." At Yorktown, under the same delusion, McClellan refrained from a prompt attack upon Magruder's small force, and entered upon a protracted siege, while the figures show that he had a hundred and nine thousand men present for duty, while Johnston, when his men were all up, had but fifty-three thousand. So it was to the end. The secret-service officers were utterly untrustworthy, feeding the ever-present fears of McClellan that he was upon the point of being overwhelmed, and giving partial justification for the accusations and complaints with which his correspondence with the Washington authorities is full, that he was being refused accessions or stripped, by detachments to other departments, of troops whose reinforcement was indispensable to any reasonable hope of success. The wonder is, not alone that an intelligent soldier should not have used other available means than bare reliance on his spies for finding what forces were in his front, but that he should have attributed to the Confederacy such extraordinary recruiting energy when at that time it was entirely dependent upon volunteering. The rigorous conscription of a later time which robbed the cradle and the grave dated from the assumption of the Confederate command by Lee, in the midsummer of 1862, and was not especially productive until after McClellan's day.

This conviction that his enemy was always his superior in numbers helps to explain another grave deficiency in his conduct as a commander, viz., that throughout the Peninsula campaign, from Yorktown to Malvern Hill, "his headquarters were unduly distant from the several fields of battle, and so much so, indeed, that, so far as his personal or professional influence was concerned, it may be almost completely ignored in all tactical combinations." Gaines's Mill was fought by Fitz John Porter against the combined divisions of Longstreet, Jackson, and the two Hills, with three times his number of men, while McClellan was diverted by a few brigades in his front under Magruder, and stayed there with the bulk of the army. Glendale, the vital cross-roads of the army's retreat to the James, where the enemy pressed hard, was a battle without a head; the several corps commanders fighting as they saw an enemy, independently of one another, and for the most part unaware of one another's presence. When the position became untenable, "without orders from the commanding general, it was most fortunately abandoned." Concerning his absence from Malvern Hill, whose management was confided to Porter while McClellan went on board the gunboat *Galena*, to select, with Commodore Rodgers, the final establishment for the army, our biographer declares, with entire justice, that "the continued presence of Gen. McClellan with his troops, seeing to their best tactical disposition, and giving them the inspiration of his undoubted personal magnetism, was a duty of the first importance, in comparison with which everything else was of no military value whatever; and every explanation of this absence must be in the nature of an unsatisfactory apology."

When, in view of the miscarriage of this campaign and his bitter altercations with the War Department, it is asked why McClellan was continued in command to make another disappointing trial at Antietam, the evident answer is, that there was nobody else who could be pointed out as having the confidence of the country or the army; and nobody else appeared when Lincoln's patience came to an end after Antietam. Burnside and Hooker failed disastrously, and Meade was feeling his way until 1864. By his superabundant caution McClellan had preserved the army from any such disaster as befell it at Fredericksburg in December, 1862, and therefore was a safe commander. But this negative virtue does not win battles, and the season of experiment with other leaders had to come. Furthermore, McClellan came to attach excessive importance to his indispensableness to the army and the country, and to feel a considerable degree of contempt towards the Administration, whose head, as later generations have discovered, possessed a far from contemptible sagacity in military affairs, as he showed himself to be the master spirit in civil administration. A little more humility on McClellan's part, such as should have been born of his failures, and a little more readiness to share wisdom with the President and his advisers; a little more tact to bind to himself the men of civil affairs who began with being his stanch friends and ended by thorough distrust of all his aims, and the story of the reception of a mighty trust might have had an end commensurate with the fine promise of its beginning.

That McClellan was, in any act or thought, other than utterly loyal and patriotic, or that he or any of those near to him connived at defeat of the Union arms under Pope or any other officer, Gen. Michie believes, as do most impartial witnesses, to be devoid of any reasonable foundation. One of the most notable of the charges of his sulking in his tent while the country was imperilled, under cover of the trial of Fitz John Porter for alleged treasonable failure of duty, was completely refuted, when, after the heat and blindness of the war passion had abated, Porter was fully exonerated from all fault and declared to have borne a highly honorable part in the last of Pope's battles, by a competent military tribunal, whose conclusions received the hearty approval of Gen. Grant. Not on account of lack of high moral qualities did McClellan step out of the combat, but because "his generalship was not up to the standard which the situation demanded."

The Oldest Type-Printed Book in Existence: A Disquisition on the Relative Antiquity of the Pfister and Mazarin Bibles and the "65-line A" Catholicon. Prefaced by a Brief History of the Invention of Printing. By George Washington Moon. London: Privately printed. MCMI.

Will the controversy about the invention of printing never end? Fifty years ago students of typography were divided in opinion: one-half believed that printing was invented by Laurens Janszoon Koster of Haarlem, in 1423, and the other half accredited it to John Gutenberg of Mainz in 1450. In 1869-70, Dr. A. Van der Linde pub-

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lished a series of articles in Dutch journals (afterward expanded in two large volumes) in which he showed that the pretensions made on behalf of Koster had no sound basis in history. He did what no one before had done so thoroughly, for he sifted evidence and examined records with uncommon critical discernment. Although he wrote with needless asperity, his reasoning was accepted as conclusive by many partisans of Koster, who were led by him to believe that the real inventor of printing was John Gutenberg of Mainz.

Moved no doubt by emulation, Dr. Hessels of Oxford, England, undertook a similar sifting of the evidence that had been published in favor of Gutenberg. He showed that fables and forgeries had been devised to cover supposed weak spots in the histories written about Gutenberg, and that his records also needed further investigation. He does not deny that Gutenberg printed before 1455, but he does lead the reader to doubt that he was sole inventor, or even the master spirit in the invention of printing. It is certain that Gutenberg had forerunners.

A French investigator in the archives of Avignon reports that one Christopher Valdfoghel had there introduced, before the period of Gutenberg in Mainz, a new "art of writing with metal letters." No specimen of Valdfoghel's workmanship was discovered, nor is it known what methods he used; but it is possible that he was attempting to invent printing with metal types. We have also some new evidence that Mentilin of Strassburg was a successful and an industrious printer in that city at or before the publication of the two great Bibles attributed (and denied) to Gutenberg.

One of these Bibles is known as the Bible of Forty-two Lines, or the Mazarin Bible, so called from its discovery in the library of Cardinal Mazarin. This Bible, now in the National Library at Paris, contains in its two volumes two colophons, professedly written by the illuminator of the books, certifying that his work was done at Mainz in the year 1455. These colophons, with other evidences, have led to the conclusion that this Bible must have been printed in Mainz before 1455. Mr. Moon challenges the credibility of these colophons, and names bibliographers of authority who believe that they were not written by the illuminator. The other Bible is known as the Bible of Thirty-six Lines, or the Pfister Bible, or the Bamberg Bible, so called because Albert Pfister of Bamberg is known to have used its types in several of his little books. It has no printed date, nor has any copy been found with an early written date. The types of the two Bibles are different as to size, but they resemble one another in form, and should have been made by the same printer; but there are historic difficulties in the way of this hypothesis. The Bible of Forty-two Lines always has been regarded as the first, because it had a written date; but there are bibliographers of authority who maintain that the Bible of Thirty-six Lines was the first product of the new art. If the authenticity of the written date of 1455 is proved a forgery, then the relative priority of the two Bibles is still an open question.

Now comes George Washington Moon (well known as the rasping critic of Dean Alford's 'Queen's English'), with a thin quarto of 47 pages, in which he challenges the priority of these Bibles. He asserts that they were printed in too workmanlike a manner, and that neither one could have been the first product of the new art. He begins with a recital of the oldest printed testimonies in favor of Gutenberg, and adjudges their merits as history with creditable impartiality; but he shows, as Dr. Van der Linde had done before him, that the repetition of an early statement by an uncritical writer adds nothing to the credibility of that statement. Nevertheless, he insists that the testimony of the earliest writers on the subject should not be put aside entirely. He quotes one old writer who said that the 'Catholicon' was the first printed book. He prefers the internal evidences in early printed books to the assertions of contemporaneous writers, for many of them had no exact knowledge of the mechanics of printing, and, without intending to mislead, did mislead seriously. He compares the appearance of print in early books not by the types of letters only, but by marks of punctuation and other trifles of typographical practice that have been overlooked. He says that the acknowledged characteristics of earliest printing are:

"No title-page, preface, table of contents, or of rubrics.
"No colophon, pagination, catch-words.
"No signature or lettering for marking separately printed sheets.
"No marginal notes or footnotes.
"No headings to pages or to chapters, and no space between chapters.
"No large printed capitals (as initial letters) and no small letters as guides to the maker of the initials.
"No diphthongs or quotation marks.
"No marks of punctuation, except the dot, and this dot was always above the lower lining of the letters.
"No register of lettered signatures and no errata.
"No printer's name or place of printing and no date.
"Only Gothic or semi-Gothic type.
"Only one long s and one short s.
"Only one straight and one curved r.
"Only one size of each small letter.
"Only one size and one form of each capital.
"Only one form of each double letter.
"Only one form of each single letter or abbreviation.
"The i never dotted; it was either with an acute or circumflex accent.
"The first and last leaf always blank.
"An irregular or uneven number of lines in mated columns."

The two Bibles previously mentioned do not conform to all these characteristics of early printing. As they have different forms of the same letter, and as one of them shows four kinds of marks of punctuation, and has other peculiarities, Mr. Moon decides that they cannot be rated as the first or even as very early products of the new art. They show improvements upon a still earlier and a cruder practice of printing.

The only book that approximates the characteristics specified by Mr. Moon is this rare and undated edition of the 'Catholicon' in his possession, and described by him as the "65-line A Catholicon" from its peculiar form of the capital A. This Catholicon, a folio of 800 pages, the combination of a Latin grammar and dictionary, had been a book of high authority for nearly two centuries, and it was undoubtedly a book to be selected by an early printer as certain of ready sale. It seems to have been printed from new and sharp types in a creditable manner, but it betrays on the part of the printer remarkable ignorance of, or indifference to, the niceties of typography which have been listed by Mr. Moon. He gives a facsimile of a paragraph of this Catholicon. It conforms to his standard of the characteristics of early printing in all features but one: its capital letters are neither Gothic nor semi-Gothic, but a fair form of Roman letter, fully as correct as the Roman capitals shown by Sweynheim and Pannartz at Subiaco in 1465. Even the small or minuscule letters of this Catholicon incline more to the Roman than the semi-Gothic style.

Who printed this edition of the Catholicon? Mr. Moon does not hazard a direct answer, but he points to the significant circumstance that it is one of a series of four volumes (the earlier ones undated, and without name or place) printed by Mentilin of Strassburg, and that the second volume of the series, 'Speculum Doctrinale,' is printed in the types of this "65-line A Catholicon," but its types show wear and have new capital letters. The reader is led to form his own conclusion that it should have been printed about 1445, and probably by Mentilin of Strassburg.

It is already established that Gutenberg was experimenting in or practising printing in Strassburg as early as 1440, and that he had associates with whom he was at variance. Mentilin's name was not mentioned in their law-suit against Gutenberg, but Mentilin did practise printing in that city for many years after the alleged departure of Gutenberg to Mainz. There is no record of any work done by Gutenberg between 1442 and 1448, but it is not at all probable that he was idle. It is possible that this Catholicon might have been printed in Strassburg at or about 1445, but whether with or without the aid of Gutenberg, is uncertain.

Ethics: Descriptive and Explanatory. By Sidney Edward Mezes. The Macmillan Co. 1901. 8vo, pp. 435.

Professor Mezes of the University of Texas has been known to the general public as a scholar of Howison, and as one of the four authors of the sympotic book, 'The Conception of God.' He there produced upon us a mixed impression, for his intellect seemed not to have quite so keen an edge as is called for in philosophy; and yet here and there conceptions appeared so simple and obvious, and yet so novel, that one ransacked one's memory in the endeavor to recall any anticipation of the remark. Much the same impression is renewed by the present book. Hard work and solid has been put into it; and, of course, the harvest must have proportionate value. Parts of the treatise are admirably worked out, and are, at any rate, instructive, even if their conclusions are rejected. But hard work is not all that is required in dealing with such a subject.

In aim and method the present work is fully as original as it ought to be. The author belongs to that school of ethics which is probably nearest right—that is to say, to the school which makes tribal tradition a main factor of morality, and which is thus enabled to frame an evolutionary theory of it. But although the author is thus in the van of ethical exploration, a

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certain old-fashioned and conservative color—attributable, perhaps, to temperament and Texan environment—strongly tinges his theory. Now, conservatism in morals is most needful in practice, and, of course, is theoretically defensible. But that defence itself is not conservative: on the contrary, it is rationalistic; and in pure theory, especially in a theory of aims, conservatism is irrational and out of place. The writer effects a reconciliation of his conservatism (which is very likely unconscious) with his advanced views by exaggerating more than usual a prevalent tendency which we venture to think that the majority of philosophers of our day carry too far—we mean the tendency to base everything in philosophy upon the psychical sciences. The immense success of scientific psychology during the last forty years has very naturally given it a weight in men's minds that ought not in philosophy to be accorded to any merely special science, which is precisely what psychology has all along been striving and struggling to be. On the contrary, it is now generally admitted that psychology, like general physics, necessarily takes for granted a *Weltanschauung* or outline system of metaphysics. Now, metaphysics can have no satisfactory grounding except upon a scientific logic; and logic rests on ethics to a degree that few are aware of. So if there be no other basis for ethics than psychology, which is a third story above it, the whole erection floats on air. Ethics as a positive science must rest on observed facts. But it is quite a different thing to make it rest on special scientific observation, and still more so to base it upon scientific conclusions. The only solid foundation for ethics lies in those facts of every-day life which no skeptical philosopher ever yet really called in question.

Now, Mr. Mezes is so far from taking this view that he maintains that the whole business of the moralist consists in saying what men mean by morality, in describing what they hold to be moral, and in explaining how they come to do so. This is a most interesting and valuable study, but it is ethical anthropology, not pure ethics; and to limit ethics in this way is to be faithless to the first duty of a moralist, as such. "Ethical writers do not in any proper sense," he says, meaning that they overstep the bounds of their province when they do, "judge conduct or issue pronouncements as to what is right or wrong. Their more modest task is to discover and record men's genuine judgments as to what is right or wrong." Let us see how this view of ethics works. A judge, let us suppose, has brought before him a case in which a man has suffered injury for which he claims damages of another. Whether damages ought to be paid in such a case is often, we know, a delicate and puzzling question. We will follow Professor Mezes in using a much too simple illustration, which ought to puzzle nobody. "Take," he says, "the case where A's cattle break out of their enclosure, in spite of A's having used all the care he reasonably could have used, or could learn to use, and destroy B's valuable crop in an adjoining field." This case (or rather another far more difficult) puzzles the judge, and he takes it under advisement. He naturally looks into works on ethics, and, finding nothing pertinent in modern books, is driven to the scholastic treatises. Now, there is nothing in the whole scholastic logic more justly an object of derision for any modern thinker than its weak confusion of thought in its doctrine of causes; nor in that whole doctrine is there any more manifest absurdity than the distinction between a *proximate* and a *remote* cause. When we meet with an application of it in the scholastic commentary on the Sentences, it stands out as so much more nonsensical than the rest as to be comical; but that anybody should be made to suffer because of any consequence of such metaphysical jargon is outrageous flippancy. Yet it is just this outrage that the judge is driven to commit, or to pretend to commit, because the ethical writers have not expounded right and wrong in a sufficiently luminous and reasonable form.

Professor Mezes follows them. He maintains that A, the owner of the cattle, ought to reimburse B for the injury done by them to his crop, because A is the *proximate cause* of B's suffering. If he would not follow the decisions of Texas courts as the ultimate evidence concerning right and wrong, he could not fail to see that the real reason why the judge awards damages to B is that to allow a private person to undertake a business humanly sure in the long run to injure his neighbors (and all the more so if he "cannot learn to use" suitable preventive measures), and then to allow him to pocket all the profits, and make his neighbors pay for incidental losses, would be to bring himself and his court into public contempt and into no little danger. That was the judge's real reason. But in days gone by (perhaps not yet in Texas) if a judge could decide a case justly, and yet by a process of metaphysical reasoning the less intelligible the better, he was regarded with awe by the vulgar; and that was one motive for his seizing upon that argument when he could get no modern light.

One of the distinctive features of Professor Mezes's book is a seventy-page chapter on Justice, in which legal decisions are followed, often in a way which will be repugnant to right-minded readers, and yet not so exclusively that the chapter can be said to constitute an exposition of the traditional legal conception of justice. Professor Mezes defines ultimate good as "the welfare of all sentient beings," but he is doubtful whether it is worth while to have any regard for the welfare either of *bacilli* (are these sentient beings in Texas?) or of criminals of all classes. The last exclusion is characteristic, we are sorry to say. But when we ask what he means by "welfare," in place of a *definition*, nothing is vouchsafed but a *division* of "welfare," in which there are two or three dozen items, such as "easy activity," "sense of personal attractiveness," "sense of solvency," "satisfaction from social standing," "sense of divine favor," "national pride," "self-control," "a body of well-poised spontaneous activities," "systematic ideas of rights and duties," "sagacity." There are those who will think that all this is on a pretty low plane, and we do not see much in the list about the welfare of earth-worms, etc., notwithstanding the insistence upon "all sentient beings."

The best thing in the book is the psychological analysis of conscience, which is decidedly noticeable. We could hardly have expected the terminology to be reformed. The scholastic writers mark two things which they distinguish by the terms *synderesis* and *conscience* (the latter nearly in the sense in which it is a household word). The interest of progress in ethical discussion calls upon us to come to agreement about the use of technical terms. But each of us is attached to his own habit, and will not surrender it unless it can be shown clearly to violate a law to which he has given in his allegiance. A code of rules is needed, in framing which we cannot do better than to be guided by the taxonomists, who have had, of all men, most experience in dealing with similar difficulties. If we do that, our first rule, subject, perhaps, to a few general but well-defined classes of exceptions (the fewer the better), will certainly be that every technical term of philosophy ought to be used in that sense in which it first became a technical term of philosophy. This will, generally speaking, result in the greatest accord between the language of philosophy and the vernacular, of which the word *conscience* will be an example. As for that other thing which a good many moralists call conscience, some other name ought to be given to it, preferably a new word. At any rate, not *synderesis*, of which the original meaning, we are convinced, is not that which Siebeck assigns to it. Professor Mezes, whose definitions are mostly of doubtful accuracy, distinguishes between conscience about others' acts and conscience about one's own. But a stay-at-home conscience does the most to render earth habitable.

As we rise from the reading of the whole book, we find ourselves saying, If *this* is what morality is, we are disposed to sympathize with Henry James, the elder, in his very limited respect for morality.

A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages. By Stanley Lane-Poole. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1901. Pp. xvi, 382. Map and 101 illustrations.

This is the sixth volume in the great history of Egypt now publishing, and covers, in spite of its title, the period from the Arab conquest in 640 to the conquest by the Ottoman Turks in 1517. The seventh volume will treat the Ottoman period from 1517 to the present day.

There can be no question of the learning and skill which Professor Lane-Poole has brought to bear on a complicated and abstruse subject. Hereditarily and personally interested in Egypt and in the glories of its history and civilization, he has added to the merely picturesque that definite exactitude in dates which marks the modern historian. Few men have at their command such a skeleton for the history of any part of the Muslim world as he has drawn from his long labors among the coins of the British Museum. He has also had access to the unique collection of materials which M. van Berchem has made for his 'Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum.' The Ethiopic and Byzantine sources, too, have been open to him. It will thus be seen that he has been able to use much wider and more exact information on his subject than was the case with Weil, his only serious competitor. As for Sir William Muir's volume on the Mamluks, the remark on it, page 317, is unfortunately true, but would also be better away. At the best, that book covers only a small part of the present field.

It was probably exigencies of space alone which led to the few weaknesses here open to criticism. Thus, it must be said that

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Egypt is treated too much in isolation and too little as an element in the Muslim world. Little attention is paid to the Shi'ite movement outside of Egypt, although the romance of the Fatimids is only a part of it, and unintelligible when treated alone. Even the Qarmatians, that element in Shi'ism which was most directly connected with the Fatimids, are hardly mentioned except when they enter Egypt, and their position generally is left in great obscurity. The same holds of the history of Northern Africa and Spain. There is no mention of Ibn Tumart and the Muwahhids, though their sweep of conquest reacted upon Egypt. As for Egypt itself, the account of al-Hakim Bi'amrillah, though detailed, cannot be called illuminating. The problem presented by that strange character, fantastic life, and mysterious end is hardly even suggested. It may even be said that the problem of the Fatimids as a whole is treated in too external a fashion. The secret philosophical teaching which must have lain behind their Shi'ite orthodoxy is passed over. There is also very little about the Assassins; probably because their operations lay mostly outside of Egypt, though their origin was Fatimid. The events of history bear much more stress than the ideas which gave rise to them; it is true that in this case the ideas are obscure enough. Further, and in accordance with this, we find here little about the religious movements of the time, however illuminating they might have been to the course of the history. In an-Nasir's reign, some account of the trials of Ibn Taymiya and of his conflict with popular superstition and with mysticism in high places would have thrown much light on the period and on the character of an-Nasir himself. Still less attention is paid to literature.

But all this is probably due to want of space. There can be no question that Professor Lane-Poole is fully aware of all the points that we have now raised. The pity is that his space should have fallen thus short. The map, too, is very inadequate. That the dating on the margin and in the text is A. D. is exceedingly awkward. It is not always possible to consult Wüstenfeld's *Tabellen*, and for the student the date A. H. is the more important. It would have been well, too, if a transliteration and translation of the numerous inscriptions and coins reproduced had been added. Comparatively few Arabists can read the involved script used in such cases. To balance this, we have numerous tables, dynastic and of governors, lists of authorities, of monuments, inscriptions and coins, and an excellent index of twenty-four pages. If Professor Lane-Poole cannot rival the detail of Weil and Quatremère, he has given us a history, as a whole, more solid and trustworthy, and has well earned our gratitude.

Irish Pastorals. By Shan F. Bullock. McClure, Phillips & Co. Pp. 309.

These pastorals are nine sketches of Irish peasant life mainly as passed in the open. We are led through the circle of the year, from the planting of the potatoes to the cutting of the hedges in late autumn. The scenes appear to be laid about Louth and Cavan. "My lord the mountain," so often referred to, is probably Slieve Gullion in Armagh. Some if not all the Pastorals have appeared in magazine form. From the context we should infer they are a selection from a large number published or unpublished.

There have been so many poor attempts on the like theme that we opened the book somewhat with misgiving. We did not finally lay it down until we had read it from cover to cover. It is of singular merit, displaying insight into character and close observation of manners and ways of speech. We can hardly say it is better than anything that has been written upon the same subject; it is certainly as good, and fit to take its place beside Carleton and Miss Barlow. "The Brothers" is a shocking story of love and murder. It is out of keeping with the rest of the collection. Had Mr. Bullock been content to omit this and subsidiary stories in two other of the sketches, bringing the book down to some 250 pages, it would have been a more consistent and creditable piece of work.

As a specimen of the author's style we cannot do better than give the following. A party of turf-cutters are resting at midday. They are joined by a poor old man Robin, who, like some of the others, nods off asleep over a fire they have kindled. Lizzie Dolan, a bouncing girl, shortly to be married—her courting forms the main theme of "The Planters"—is one of the party:

"Lizzie's eyes fell upon the sleeping figure of ould Robin. He looked woful; and at sight of him—at sight of his time-beaten face, his ugliness and squalor, his open mouth and dribbling chin—the girl shivered in the sunshine. 'Lord, the ugly old man he is,' said she; 'the ugly ould sinner.' "

Then, in a spirit of mischief, she reaches over and decorates his hat with heather and potato peelings.

" 'Lord, the sight he is, the comical ould sight,' cried she. 'Whisht, Anne, whisht; don't laugh or you'll wake him.' But already Anne had laughed, and Robin was awake."

Further to bring him into ridicule, she asks his age, seventy-five, and—

" 'I say, Robin, isn't it near time ye thought o' marryin' again?' The old man turned slowly and looked full at Lizzie. . . . 'Is it o' marryin' you're axin' me?' asked Robin; and before the solemnity of his face Lizzie dropped her eyes. . . . 'I was married only once,' said he, very deliberately; 'only once; an' I wish to God I was married yet, for its meself is the lonesome man this day. . . . Ay, but it's wonderful the grip a woman has on a man when he's wi' her for fifty years. It's astonishin'. An' ye never know how astonishin' it is till ye lose her. Naw, ye never know till then. Losin' anythin' else in the world's nothin' to it; nothin' at all. Ye get used to that in a week, or a month, or so; but niver, niver do ye get used to th' other. Niver, niver! Ah, well I know it. . . . Twelve months ago an' a day more I buried Mary. That's a longish time, you'd think, long enough anyway to get used to missin' her. But, somehow, I can't get used to it. [He then rambles on into thoughts of his loneliness.] So you'll see that mebbe, when all's considered, I've had enough o' marryin' to do my time.' . . . . Lizzie, her face all wet with tears, ran to Robin . . . and deftly began plucking away the sprigs of heather from his hat. . . . 'An' now come away wi' me,' said she, 'till I help ye catch the ass, an' get the scraws for the fire. Come away.' "

The singular merit of these 'Irish Pastorals' has led us into making these somewhat long extracts, which in but a small degree give a true impression of the beauty and pathos of the full narrative. There is no politics, no religion, no intention in the work. It brings to our imagination as neither pen nor pencil has brought before phases in the daily life of the Irish peasantry on the borders of Ulster.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abbott, F. F. A History and Description of Roman Political Institutions. Boston: Ginn & Co. $1.60.
Addyman, F. T. Practical X-Ray Work. London: Scott, Greenwood & Co.; New York: D. Van Nostrand Co. $4.
Bate, Percy. The English Pre-Raphaelite Painters. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan. New ed. $3.
Begbie, Harold. The Fall of the Curtain. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Co.
Blanchard, Amy E. Because of Conscience. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
Bonehill, Ralph. The Three Young Ranchmen. The Saalfield Pub. Co. $1.
Champney, Elizabeth W. A Daughter of the Huguenots. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.35.
Chesnutt, C. W. The Marrow of Tradition. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.
Cook, E. T. Rights and Wrongs of the Transvaal War. London: Edward Arnold; New York: Longmans, Green & Co. $5.
Curtis, W. E. The True Thomas Jefferson. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $2.
Davies, Acton. Maude Adams. Frederick A. Stokes Co. $1.10.
Doubleday, Russell. A Year in a Yawl. Doubleday, Page & Co. $1.25.
Douglas, Amanda M. A Little Girl in Old New Orleans. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.20.
Douglas, Amanda M. A Sherburne Inheritance. Dodd, Mead & Co. 90 cents.
Errera, Carlo. L'Epoca delle Grandi Scoperte Geografiche. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli.
Flaubert, Gustave. Salâmmbo. Doubleday, Page & Co. $1.50.
Gager, C. S. Errors in Science Teaching. Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen. 50 cents.
Grinnell, Morton. Neighbours of Field, Wood, and Stream. Frederick A. Stokes Co. $1.30.
Hargitt, C. W. Outlines of General Biology. Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen. $1.
Hodder, Alfred. The New Americans. Macmillan. $1.50.
Jacobs, W. W. Light Freights. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.
Keightley, S. R. A Man of Millions. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.
Levett-Yeats, S. The Traitor's Way. Frederick A. Stokes Co. $1.50.
Lico, Nigro. La Protezione degli Animali. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli.
Ludlow, J. M. Deborah. Fleming H. Revell Co. $1.50.
Mabie, H. W. Norse Stories. Dodd, Mead & Co. New ed. $1.80.
Mabie, H. W. William Shakespeare, Poet, Dramatist, and Man. New ed. Macmillan. $2.
Mathews, F. A. My Lady Peggy Goes to Town. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Co.
Mohr, Charles. Plant Life in Alabama. Montgomery (Ala.): Geological Survey.
Newman, J. H. The Lives of the English Saints. New ed. 6 vols. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
Oman, C. W. C. A History of Greece. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.50.
Paton, James. Beautiful Characters, or Types of Victory. American Tract Society. 50 cents.
Price, G. M. Handbook on Sanitation. John Wiley & Sons. $1.50.
Scott, Leader. Filippo di Ser Brunellesco. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan. $1.75.
Silver Series of Classics. (1) Burns. Selected Poems; (2) Selected Essays of Charles Lamb; (3) The Holy Grail; (4) Lays of Ancient Rome; (5) Silas Marner. Silver, Burdett & Co.
Singleton, Esther. Romantic Castles and Palaces, as Seen and Described by Famous Writers. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.60.
Southworth, May E. One Hundred and One Sandwiches. San Francisco: D. P. Elder and Morgan Shepard. 50 cents.
Starr, Frederick. American Indians. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.
Stephenson, H. T. The Fickle Wheel. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Co.
Swan, Annie S. An American Woman. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.50.
Swoope, C. W. Lessons in Practical Electricity. D. Van Nostrand Co. $2.
Taylor, Bayard. Boys of Other Countries. New ed. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.25.
The Love Letters of Abelard and Heloise. London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan. 50 cents.
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Veitch, John. The Meditations, and Selections from the Principles, of René Descartes. Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co. 35 cents.
Watson, W. F. Elementary Experimental Chemistry. A. S. Barnes & Co. $1.25.
Williams, W. H. Sonnetical Notes on Philosophy. Published by the Author.
Winfield, A. M. A Young Inventor's Pluck. The Saalfield Pub. Co. $1.
Wood, C. W. The Glories of Spain. Macmillan. $3.50.
Wright, Carrie D. Lincoln's First Love. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.
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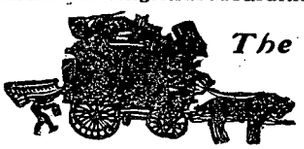

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